

TRAVANCORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERIES



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Published under the orders of the Government of
Travancore.

Stone and Copper-plate Inscriptions of Travancore
with 7 plates.

BY

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B. A., M. P., A. S.,

Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore State.



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No. 27—Keralapuram Inscriptions.

Keralapuram, which is mentioned in inscriptions as a suburb of Muttalakuruchchi, a village of Paralkōṭṭu-dēsam in Śeṅgalunīr-vaḷanāḍu which was itself a sub-division of Tennāḍu, is a hamlet near Padmanābhapuram. It contains a Śiva temple, whose earliest record engraved on its south-west base is dated in Kollam 491 (= A. D. 1317) in the reign of Vīra-Udaiyamārttāṇḍavarman and has already been published. As the god of the temple has been called Vīrakēra-leśvarttu-Mahādēva in this inscription and as the village also bore the name of Vīrakēralapuram *alias* Muttalaikkuruchchi, the temple and the village may be presumed to have come into existence during the reign of a king Vīrakēralavarman who must have reigned prior to the beginning of the 14th century; i. e., in all probability, either of the two Vēṇāḍu kings of that name figuring in the Chōḷapuram epigraph of Kollam 302 and the Tiruvallam record of Kollam 399.

When this temple subsequently got into disrepair after the lapse of more than three or four centuries, it was renovated in Kollam 782 (= A. D. 1607) by Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman *alias* Śrī Kulāśekhara who constructed its *nālambalum*, kitchen and *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* in stone, and finished off in brick the *vimāna* of its central shrine. The same fact is also alluded to in the *Aṅṅūr* plate of Kollam 821. This Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman (Kēttai-tirunāl) is known from his Tiruvattāru inscriptions to have been the son of Umayammūi-Rāni, to have belonged to the Tiruppāppār-svarūpam and the Kīlappērar-illam and had reigned at least between the years Kollam 776 and 782; while the *State Manual* gives him, on the authority of the temple chronicles, a reign of nearly 11 years from Kollam 771 to 782.

The subjoined inscriptions engraved on several pillars of the temple are all dated in the 6th day of the month of Chittirai of Kollam 782, when the consecration ceremony of the renovated temple was performed, and when these pillars, some of them sculptured *uruttān* and others of the variety called *chitra-kaṇḍam* were contributed as votive gifts by several private individuals connected with the temple. From the fact that the *śurru-maṇḍapa* and the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* are stated to have been constructed by the king himself, according perhaps to some definite plan, it looks as if the private donors, who wanted to participate in the meritorious work of the temple's renovation, paid for these pillars after their erection and had their own donative labels incised thereon.

These pillars are described as belonging to the *chitra-kaṇḍam* variety and as some images are also sculptured on their faces, they are further classified as *chitra-kaṇḍam-uruttān*. This type which is very common in temples is formed, as its name implies, by the combination of two or three styles, the present variety consisting of three cubical portions connected together by intermediate shafts octagonal in section, which are further variegated with floral or plain band ornamentation. The square faces of the cubes at the middle and extremities bear on them representations of men and animals, conventional floral work and geometrical patterns.

The four pillars of the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* at its south-west, north-west, north-east and south-east corners are well sculptured in the style of the 17th century so familiar in the neighbouring districts of Madura and Tinnevely, and

represent, in order, the images respectively of Kulaśekhara-Perumāḷ, Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ together with Sundaramūrti, Lakshmaṇa and Rāma; but it is deplorable that all the figures are mutilated owing to wanton neglect and ill-usage. The introduction of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa in a Śiva temple is not so uncommon as it may appear at first sight, as these complementary images were popular in this period and are found in many of the Tinnevely temples erected during the Madura Nāyakas' rule. The other two pillars bearing the representations of the two Chēra kings Kulaśekhara and Chēramāṇ are however peculiar, and may have been fashioned at the original suggestion of king Ravivarman himself, who perhaps desired to perpetuate the memory of the two canonised Saints of his own regal line; for otherwise, it cannot be explained why the donors of these pillars, a brace of temple dancing girls and a temple-accountant, should have particularly chosen these rare representations to adorn their votive peers. Kulaśekhara, the staunch Vaiṣṇava devotee whose hymns are brimful of his fervid faith in the one god Viṣṇu, must have deprecated the Travancore king's patriotism which stationed him in front of a Śaiva shrine.

The *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* is the square hall just in front of the sanctum in Śiva temples, in which is installed an image of the *Rishabha* or bull, the vehicle of that god. The Sanskrit word *Rishabha* is transformed into *iḷapa* and *iḷchapa* in these inscriptions, by the common substitution of *ḷa* for *sha* as in *śēḷam* for *śēṣham* etc., while the initial vowel *i* which is introduced in the Tamil rendering of Sanskrit words beginning with *ri*, ought to have given the equivalent *irushabha*. *Maṇḍapa* has assumed the vulgar form of *maṇḍaka* and *iśāna* which can reasonably change into *īyāna* as *dēyam* from *dēśam*, has here become *īyānta*.

Inscription A records that on the 6th day of the month of Chittirai in the Kollam year 782, the pillar bearing the image of Kulaśekhara-Perumāḷ was set up in the south-western corner (*kappi-mūlai*) of the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* by two women Nīlammaikuttī, daughter of Mādammai and Mādammai, daughter of Ichchakkuttī, who belonged to the *mūttakūḍi* of dancing girls attached to the temple of Mahādēva at this village of Kōraḷapuram; while the other inscription states that the temple-accountant, Ayyappaṇ-Ayyappaṇ of Parakōḍu-dēśam erected on the same day the pillar of Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ and Sundarapperumāḷ at the north-western corner of the same *maṇḍapa*. The other two pillars of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were similarly the gifts respectively of this accountant's wife Śēṇbagamāt-tāṇḍakuttī, daughter of Nallāppillaipeṇṇal of the Suchindrum temple, and Nāch-chiṇṇar of Vilavūr-dēśam, made on the same day.

A¹

On the west base of the Rishabha-maṇḍapa.

1. பீனத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் ளா அயல் ஒரு சித்திரை பீர் கூட.
2. சதினா-முத்தனைக்குறிச்சிசில் ஸ்ரீகீரகொனெச்சொரத்த² மா-
3. தேவர் கொசிலில் இழ்சபமண்டகத்தில் வடமேலைமூலையில்
4. செர(ம்)மான்³ பெருமானும் சுந்தரப்பெருமானும்

1 This is registered as No. 54 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 x. z.

2 Read ஸ்ரீகீரகொனெச்சொரத்த.

3 Expressed by a symbol ரு.

- 5 உருத்தூண் செய்கிச்ச செ. மாதெவர்கொழிலில் தானக்கணக்கு-
6 டைய திருமுகமெழுத்து பரக்கொட்டு தெசத்து கணக்கு¹ அய்யன்² அய்யன் சதாசெவை [11*]

B³*On the same base.*

- 1 என அயில இலு சித்திரை கவு நயினார் கொ(ர)ளபுரத்து
2 மாதெவர் கொழிலில் இழபமண்டகத்தில் கண்-
3 னிழுவையில் குலசெகரப்பெருமான்⁵ உருத்தூண் செய்-
4 வித்த மாதெவர் கொழிலில் முறையில் முத்த-
5 குடியில் மாதம்மை மகன் நீலம்மைகுட்டியு-
6 டி சச்சகுட்டி. மகன் மாதம்மயும் சதாசெவை [11*]

C¹⁰*On the east base of the same mandapa.*

- 1 என அயில இலு சித்திரை மீ⁷ கவு கொளபுரத்து இழபமண்டகத்தில்
2 நயாத்த⁴ முலையில் இலையபெருமான்⁵ உருத்தூண்⁶ செ. கொழிலில் தான-
3 க்கணக்கு¹ அய்யப்பன்¹ அய்யப்பன் பெண்சாதி⁹ குகிந்திரமுடைய நயி-
4 கொழிலில் சிறப்பு⁸ வக ல் நல்லாம்பிளைப்பெற்றான்
5 மகன் செம்பகமாதத்தாண்டக்குட்டி. செக்கிச்சது ச(ர)தாசெவை ஹரி
[11*]

D¹¹*On the same base.*

- 1 மீனத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் என அயில இலு
2 சித்திரை மீ⁷ கவு நயினார் கொளபுரத்து மாதெவர்
3 கொழிலில் இழபமண்டகத்தில் தென்மேற்கு மு-
4 லையில் சிராமன் உருத்தூண் செய்கித்த விவலுர்
5 தெசத்து வித்திருந்த நாச்சியார் மகன் நாச்சியார் சதாசெவை ஹரி [11*]

1 Expressed by a symbol ஆத.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 This is registered as No. 55 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 n. e.

4 It ought to be நயாத்த.

5 Expressed by a symbol னு.

6 " உரு.

7 " க்கு.

8 Read சச்சித்திரமுடைய.

9 The name சிறப்பு வகல் means 'out of the eleven dancing girls who belonged to the 'ornamental' adjunct of the temple i.e. for dancing and singing, as opposed the other class of maid-servants who attended to the temple menial service.

10 This is registered as No. 56 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 n. e.

11 No. 58 of the same collection.



No. 28.—Cheraman-Perumal.

It will be of interest to give here a short account of the life of the royal-saint Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ, because of his connection with the ancient Chēra house, and as king Rāṁavarman of Travancore (1758-98) mentions him as an ancestor of his dynasty¹. The main incidents of the saint-king's biography have been succinctly summarised in a single verse² by Umāpatiśivāchārya in his *Tiruttonḍar-purāṇasāram*. The story as given in the *Periyapurāṇam* is as follows:—

With his capital at the seaport town of Koḍuṅḡōḷar called also Mahōḍai, whose ramparts were the high mountain ranges and whose moat was the deep sea, there reigned a powerful king named Śeṅḡōḷporaiyaṇ, the overlord of Malai-nāḍu. In a branch of this illustrious family was born prince Perumākkōḍaiyaṛ also called by the significant title of Kālāṇṇarivār³ (one who understood the speech of all living beings), a pious devotee of Śiva, who had kept himself unsoiled by the dissipations of a royal court and had dedicated his life to the service of the god at Tiruvaṇjaikkalām in tending the temple flower-gardens and in supplying garlands for the god's daily worship⁴. But when Śeṅḡōḷporaiyaṇ abdicated at the end of a long reign and retired to an anchorite's life, this prince was selected by the ministers to succeed to the throne and was prevailed upon with great difficulty to don the royal purple after he had obtained divine sanction for his acceptance of the exalted office.

He was of such a pious disposition that when, on his preliminary royal entry into the capital, he came across a washerman whose body was whitened with Fuller's earth (*uvarmaṇ*), he made obeisance to the man in the thought that he was a Śaiva *bhakta* smeared with the holy ashes and that his appearance was a timely reminder to himself from on high to persevere in his pious life. On another occasion, it is said that Śiva sent a poet-musician called Bāṇabhadra from Madura with a letter of introduction⁵ to him that the bearer should be patronised and well-rewarded with riches and that the king, who was, immensely pleased with the high honor that this Divine commission implied, even went to the length of offering his whole kingdom to the god's protegee. His devotion towards god Nāṭarāja of Chidambaram grew in intensity and the great Dancer used to reward his piety by enabling him to

1 यद्व्यवहारवृत्तिर्मधुरापुरीशपञ्चापणेन कनकं प्रददावसङ्गपम् ।

तत्तुम्भवावकुलभक्षजनाय भूयात् स श्रेयसे विश्विलरावकुलप्रदीपः ॥

Balarāmabharatam, (T. A. S. Vol. IV, p. 109).

2 காவலர்ம கோதையார் கொடுங்கோலூர்க்கோல் சுழியாவை யறிந்தகோல் சிலம்போதாக்கருத்தார் காவலர்கோ ளண்பாடிச் சேரனென்றே கவித்துவரும் வண்ணூன் கயத்தகோந் பாவலர்கோப் பாணபத் திரைஞ் கயத்த பதம்திரு முகம்வாக்கிப் பணிசேரவெற்பின மேலிங்கோ வான்குஞ் குழியாவைத் தீர்த்தோ வெண்பாராஞ் சேரர்கோவே.

Tiruttonḍar-purāṇasāram, v. 42.

3 கிணத்தன கொடுக்கவல்லா னிலத்தயிர் சுழற்று சொந்த

கிணத்தையு மறித்திரக்கு மன்புதல் சேரமான்சான்.—*Tiruvāḷiyār-purāṇam*.

4 சிலமிருமலை காடுவாழ் கொடுங்கோலூர், நிறத்த செங்கோற் கோதையார் செல்வர் திருவஞ்சனையிற மேல்சடி பணித்திட, செய்யபொறை யந்தவ முற.—*Tiruttonḍar-purāṇam*.

5 This verse beginning with 'மதிமகிபுரிசை' is the first piece in the *Paṇḍitarāntiruvārai*.

hear the tinkling rhythm of his golden anklets (*porṣilambu*) at the end of his daily *pūjā*¹. Failing, however, to hear this accustomed token on a particular day, the king was very much disheartened and would have stabbed himself to death, if Natarāja had not intervened in time to save His votary from an unnatural end. He then learnt that the beautiful hymns sung by the arch-devotee Sundaramūrti in the temple at Chidambaram were so enthralling as to make the god forget his accustomed token to the Chēra king. This incident was a turning point in the life of Chēramān and thenceforward his ardour grew, if anything, more fervid and he was filled with a longing to visit not only Chidambaram the abode of his favourite deity, but also pay homage to the great soul whose songs had kept Śiva spell-bound.

Accordingly he set out from his capital and after passing through the Koṅgu-nādu, through which lay in those days one of the highways between the eastern districts and Malai-maṇḍalam, finally reached Chidambaram, where the divine vision which was vouchsafed him evoked a fitting response in the poem named the *Poyvaṇṇattandādi*². He then proceeded to Tiruvārūr, the headquarters of Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār, and formed with him a memorable friendship which, while earning for the latter the sobriquet of 'Chēramāṇṇōlan', continued unabated in its sincerity till the simultaneous and mysterious exit of both of them from Tiruvaṇjaikkalam. After having composed the *Tirumummaṇikkōvai*³ in honour of god Valmīkanātha during his short stay at Tiruvārūr, the Chēra king then accompanied Sundara on an extensive tour of pilgrimage to many holy temples of Śiva in the Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, among which are mentioned: Kīlvēlūr, Nāgaikkārōṇam, Tirumaraikkādu (Vēḍaranyam), Paḷaṇam, Agastyaṇ-palli, Kuḷagar-Kodikkōyil, Tiruppattūr, Madurai, Tiruppāvaṇam, Tiruvāppattūr, Tiruvēḍagam, Tirupparaṇḡunṇam, Kurrālam, Kurumbalā, Tirunelvēli, Rāmēśvaram, Tiruchchuliyāl, Kānappēr, Tiruppuṇāvāyil, Pātālēśvaram, Tirukkandiyūr and Tiruvaiyyāru. Both the friends then cut across the Koṅgudēśam and reached Koḍuṅgōlūr, where Chēramān entertained Sundara with such pomp and respect as was befitting to the renowned boy-saint.

After a short congenial stay at the Chēra capital, Sundara finally took leave of his royal friend and reached Tiruvārūr loaded with many costly presents and jewels, after undergoing a miraculous adventure with banditti en route at Tirumuruganpāṇḍi in the Coimbatore District. Some time later, Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār paid a second visit to his Chēra friend, after augmenting his fame on the way by the performance of a miracle of the resurrection of a brāhman boy at Tiruppuḷkōliyūr (Coimbatore District), and was received with huge ovations by the people of Tiruvaṇjaikkalam and their king. While Sundaramūrti was thus staying in the Chēra capital, god Śiva, it is stated, sent a white elephant to fetch³ the

1

—சம்பந்த

காத்திலும்பிற் சத்தனிக்து என்னியனிக்து நினங்
காத்திலும்பு கேட்ட திருக்கோதோனும்.

—Tiruvārūr-ம்.

2

This is collected in the *Paḍinṇāṇṭirumurai*.

3

கலைபுரவடமோடு சேரமாகுளுவர்
வினாயகமொரு வெள்ளையனோடு சென்ற.

—Kōyil-Tiruvaiṇṭai pp. 2, v. 4.

saint back to his original abode Kailāsa, and in obedience to that holy mandate he prepared to start heavenwards; but before setting out, his commiserating thoughts strayed for a moment towards his royal comrade whom he had to leave behind. Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ, who was taking his bath at his palace at that time, vaulted on a horse and rushing to the spot where the elephant was marching with its precious burden, respectfully circumambulated his friend and after muttering the mystic formula of the *pāṇchākshara* into the horse's ear, rose into the air leading the way in front to Mount Kailāsa. The loyal servants of the Chēra king, who had witnessed their master mounting heavenwards, waited till he was lost to sight and despairing of his return killed themselves by falling on their upright swords, like the true warriors that they were. On reaching the Silver Mountain, Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ gained audience of Śiva through the recommendation of his friend and sang on that occasion the poem called the *Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā*¹ (called also the *Ādi-ulā*), which received the god's imprimatur. This poem is said to have been transmitted to this world by a certain Māsattapār² who had heard it chanted on the slopes of Kailāsa, while the publicity given to the songs that Sundara hymned forth on his way to the Holy Mount is attributed to Varuṇa, the lord of the oceans.

Perumilalai-Kuṇṇambar, one of the sixty-three devotees, also killed himself in his own place in order to join Sundara on Kailāsa. Auvai, who is said to have been the sister of Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ also reached Kailāsa on this occasion.

Now as regards the period when Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ flourished, its determination is confronted with the usual difficulties attendant on similar questions, namely, that the available materials are so superimposed with much that is purely traditional and supernatural that there is no safe historical foundation to proceed upon. The sources from which such information can be collated may be classified as follows:—

- (i) tradition current in Malabar regarding this king, as recorded in the *Kēraḷōlpatti*;
- (ii) the biographical sketches of this king and of Sundaramūrti, Viṇamindar, Kōṭpuliyaṛ, Maṇakkāñjāraṛ, Ēyarkōṇ-Kalikkāmaṇār, Perumilalai-Kuṇṇambar, and Sōmāsiyaṛ, who were his contemporaries according to the *Periyapurāṇam*;
- (iii) the *Tiruvilaiyādarapurāṇam* of Parañjōtiyaṛ, which mentions the deputation of the lutist Bāṇabhadra to this Chēra's court as the 55th of the sixty-four divine sports of god Sundarēśa of Madura; and
- (iv) other miscellaneous references.

(i) *The Kēraḷōlpatti*, a Malayalam work of no great antiquity or authenticity purporting to be a historical chronicle of the early Kēraḷa kings, places the end of the Chēramāṇ rule in the 5th century (A. D. 428) and relates of a certain Bāṇaperumāḷ, one of them, that he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca on conversion to an

1 This finds a place in the 11th *Tirumurai*.

2 *Purāṇapuru*, see footnote on p. 529.

alien creed. Mr. Logan linking this information with the alleged discovery of a tomb-stone dated 826 A. D. supposed to record the death at Sahar-Mukhal of a certain Hindu royal convert named Abdul-Rahiman-Sāmūri on his return journey to his native land, has tried to trace the origin of the Kollam era to this hypothetical conversion¹. Now that the institution of the era is however attributed² to the foundation of the maritime city of Kollam at about this time and that the truth about the existence and purport of the Arabian epitaph is discredited for want of definite testimony, the tradition of a Chēramāṇ's conversion to Muhammadanism has, by scholars, been dismissed as groundless. It is not impossible that the disappearance of a Chēra king, miraculously or otherwise, the actual conversion of a Zamorin of Calicut to Muhammadanism as stated by the historian Ferishta and the extensions and improvements to the seaport of Quilon at the instance of Sapir Išo and his thriving co-religionists, which may have all taken place within a few decades of each other were commingled in a haphard fashion when the chronicle was patched up a few centuries ago. That the date given for the Chēramāṇ in the chronicle is not trustworthy has been accepted by all, and no reliance need be placed on the account which terminates the Chēramāṇ rule in the first half of the 5th century A. D.

(ii) From the *Periyapurāṇam*, it is learnt that the Śiva temple at Tirukkandiyūr, one of the *Aṣṭavīratthāṇams* and *Saptasthāṇams*, a mile to the south of Tiruvaiyyāru in the Tanjore District, was visited by Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ in company with Sundaramūrti and that it was only in its vicinity that, at the command of god Pañchanādēśvara, the river Kāvērī parted its swollen waters so as to leave a dry ford for the two devotees to walk across with ease³. It is therefore highly probable that the Śiva temple at Tirukkandiyūr in the Cheṅgannūr taluk of the Travancore State, which is considered to be one of the oldest in Kēraḷa and to have been constructed by Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ⁴ himself, was perhaps consecrated by him as a remembrancer of this episode; and as we know from epigraphical sources⁵ that it came into existence in A. D. 823 two years before the starting of the Kollam era and had to be renovated in Kollam 392, Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ, its reputed author, may also be assigned to the beginning of the 9th century A. D.

The *Periyapurāṇam* which has been considered on all hands to be a quasi-historical compilation, denuded of the few supernatural incidents that may not be acceptable in a hyper-critical sense, does not supply in the lives of Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ or of his Nāyaṇmār contemporaries any clues that could help in the determination of their age with certainty. We only know that, on the abdication of a Chēra king named Śeṅgōrporaiyaṇ who was ruling at Koḍuṅgōlūr, the next in succession Perumākkōdaiyār, the Śaiva devotee, ascended the throne. But unfortunately the names Śeṅgōrporaiyaṇ (the just Chēra) and Perumākkōdaiyār (the great Chēra) sound more like titles than individual appellations, *Poraiyaṇ* and

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 225 et seq.

2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 76.

3 *Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷāyaṇār-porāṇam*, vv. 130-9.

4 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 508.

5 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 290.

Kōdai being but synonymous with *Chēra*; but although it may be hazardous to assert that they do not represent the distinctive names of two *Chēra* kings, they are however a pair of designations too vague to yield any historical landmark. The *Chōla* and *Pāṇḍya* contemporaries of *Chēramāṇ* are also referred to by their dynastic titles of *Valavan* and *Tēṇṇavan*, which are absolutely useless for purposes of definite identification. The life-sketches of the *Nāyanmār* contemporaries of this king are also similarly barren of information, except that *Sundara* is mentioned to have been the *protege* of a certain *Narasiṅgamuṇaiyariyaṇ*, the chief of *Milāḍu*, who had his headquarters at *Tirukkōyilūr* in the South Arcot District, and *Sundara* himself refers to a weak *Pallava* king of that period to whom his vassals stopped the payment of tribute. From the *Tirunāvalūr* and *Tirukkōyilūr* inscriptions a few generations of *Milāḍu* chiefs with names *Narasimha* and *Rāma* are understood to have ruled in the years A. D. 954, 957, 1059 and 1149, and it is just vaguely possible that a *Narasiṅgamuṇaiyariyaṇ* may have lived in the beginning of the 9th century A. D., as *Sundara*'s patron.² The reference to the *Pallava* also points to a period when their power was at a low ebb, and this fits in well with the reign of *Dantivarman* (780-830) in whose later years *Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam* was invaded from the north by *Gōvinda III* (804) and on the south by the *Pāṇḍya*, *Varaguṇa Mahārāja*³ (825).

(iii) The *Tiruvilaiyāḍal-purāṇam* of *Paraṇjōtiyār* which professes to give a chronological narration of the sixty-four divine sports of god *Chokkanātha* of *Madura* places in the reign of a *Pāṇḍya* king named *Varaguṇa*, the following two episodes which constitute the 54th (*Viṇagu-virra-paḍalam*) and 55th (*Tirumugam-kōḍutta-paḍalam*) divine sports of that book, namely, the discomfiture *Ēmanātha* the northern lute-player on behalf of the local bard *Bhadra*, and the latter's deputation to a *Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ* of *Koduṅgōlūr* with a poem-inscribed *cadjan* order for presents. Although the scheme of chronology adopted by *Paraṇjōtiyār* is a medley of tradition, myth and royal names, it may however be examined, all other things apart, whether the location of *Bhadra* in the reign of a *Pāṇḍya* king who has the name of *Varaguṇa* is consistent with the above suppositions relating to *Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ* and *Sundara*. We know from reliable sources that *Varaguṇa-Mahārāja*, the grandson of *Jaṭila-Parāntaka* (770 A. D.) and himself the grandfather of *Varagunavarman* who ascended the throne in A. D. 862 must have been reigning in the beginning of the 9th century; and as it is also known that this *Pāṇḍya* sovereign was a devout *Śaiva* (*bhakta*), there is nothing improbable in linking together the above traditional accounts and in assuming *Chēramāṇ* to have been this *Pāṇḍya*'s contemporary and to have lived in the first quarter of the 9th century A. D. The *Bāṇa-Bhadra* episode is also referred to in the *Kallāḍam*; but

1 There have been kings with these names—

Kuṭṭuvāṇ-Kōdai, *Makkōdai*, *Iraṇbōgai*, (*Purandara*) and *Kaṇṇu-Pōṇaiyāṇ* (*T. A. S.* Vol. III).

2 *Sevillai*, Vol. III, p. 320.

3 *The Pallavas*, p. 76.

4 மந்தலத் தெய்வத் தாம்பரம் வாகுணர் செக்கோசோச்சி
பொன்றலக் காணாணித் பொதியு காணமகாதன் — *Viṇagu-virra-paḍalam*.

மன்னத்தம்பிரகுதிய வாகுணதேவன்

தந்தை வந்தபுலகித் தன் தந்திச்சிழுவோன். — *ibid*, v. 58.

as its author Kallāḍaṇār¹ is, on other grounds,² considered to have been a later poet different from his namesake of the last Academy;—this mention need not necessarily militate against the assignment of Chēramāṇ to the beginning of the 9th century.

(iv) The tradition stating that one of the offspring of the couple Bhagavan and Ādi, who was brought up by the Adigaṇ³ and who was eventually raised to the Chēra throne was the Chēramāṇ-Perumāl of the *Periyapūrāṇam* is not supported by any evidence except that of a verse⁴ popularly attributed to Auvaiyār, which she is said to have addressed in derision to the Chēra king, when god Vināyaka, pleased with her devotion, had raised her to heaven with his proboscis, sometime before the mounted pair Sundaramūrti and Chēramāṇ could arrive at the Kailāsa gates. This is another instance wherein different episodes are mixed up together promiscuously.

(v) In his learned article on the age of Jñānasambandha, Prof. Sundaram Pillai finds an implied reference to certain Śaiva Nāyaṇmārs in the minor *stōtras* of Śaṅkara, and if the *Śivabhujanga*, *Śivānandalaharī* and *Saṁdaryalaharī* are the indisputable compositions of the author of the great *Bhāṣyas*, then the passing reference in the stanza of the *Śivabhujanga*⁵ may be taken to contain a covert sneer at Sundara's matrimonial foibles, which however veneered over by some mythical varnish was considered too big a blemish to be winked at by Ēyarkōṇ-Kaiik-kāmaṇṇāyār, who would rather die of his colic rather than submit to be cured by Sundara. The date of Śaṅkara has been accepted by many scholars to be the beginning of the 9th century (788 to 820 A. D.); and in that case, it is also possible that the Sundara's Tiruvorriyār episode may have reached his ears.

Thus all the available data tend towards the ascription of Chēramāṇ-Perumāl-Nāyaṇār to the beginning of the 9th century A. D., and the temptation now offers itself to consider whether this royal saint of the Tamil hagiology can be the same as the Chēra king Rājāsēkhara⁶ of the Talamana-illam copper-plate record. In support of that possible identification these points may be noted.

1 பரிபுரத்தம்பலம் பிருசெய்யுண்டும், குட்டசோச்சோன் இடைத்திறகாண்டென, மதிமலிபுரிசுத்த ந குழகக்கரி, பம்புகுத்தரித்த வின்பெய்ப்பாணன், பெறநிற்கொடுக்கென அறகிடுத்தருளிய, மாதவர் அருத்தல் கூடந் திறைவன்
Kallāḍam, v. 11. II. 25-30

2 Sendamēl, Vol. XV, p. 107-111.

3 அரும்பார் சோலை அரும்பார் வஞ்சி, அநிலனிலிடை அநிலமாந் வளர்த்தான் — *Kapilar-āṇṇal*. but this Kapilar is believed to be a more modern namesake of the poet of the Last Academy.

4 மதாமொழியினுமையான் திறைவன் மறைமலை முநிரலியையவன் வர்க்கரிதோ முகில் போன் முழக்கி சிறைகுவித்த யாணையர் தோமதன் பின்வருக் குணையுக் காதல் இழையுக் காதல் குணமன்னதே.

5 न शक्नोमि कर्तुं परद्रोहलेषं कथं प्रीयसे त्वं न जाने गिरिश ।

तदा हि प्रसन्नोसि कस्यपि कान्तामुत्तद्रोहिणो वा पितुद्रोहिणो वा ॥ *Śivabhujangam*, v.

In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 109, the Prof. finds fault with Mr. V. Venkayya's identification of कान्ताद्रोहि with Sundara and says that Iyarkōṇ-Nāyaṇār was intended.

6 *Tam. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 13.

In the Tiruvalla copper-plate record of the beginning of the 11th century(?) the king has been mentioned as *Seṇṇittalaiadigaḷ Rājasekharaṇ*,¹ which carries with it the additional significance of his devotion to god Śiva at Seṇṇittalai, containing an early phallic emblem of the *liṅga*.²

Further, the king begins his Talamana-illum record with the words '*Namaś-śivāya*'³ in place of the almost universal '*Śaṣṭī-śrī*', and although this formula has been met with elsewhere in a few instances, it is nevertheless rare and may be considered to be significant of the special devotion of the king to god Śiva.

The paleography of the plate also points to about the beginning of the 9th century as its age and this was the period in which Sundaramūrtti-Nāyanār and his friend Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ are considered to have flourished. As it is quite possible that Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ was a dynastic title meaning 'the Chēra king', king Rājasekhara may have been known in the Tamil Districts exclusively by that title in the same way as the slightly later Chēra kings Sthāṇu-Ravi and Vijarāga-dēva were known in the records of those districts as *Chēramāṇ Kōttāṇu-Ravi* and *Chēramāṇ Vijayarāga-dēva*.

There is again the tradition recorded in the *Śaṅkaravijaya* that a Kēraḷa king called Rājasekhara was a contemporary of the great Śaṅkara, to whom he showed three dramas of his own composition. This incident is found in an amplified form in the *Jagadyuratanamālāstava* of Sadāśivabrahmaṇḍra of the 16th century, and its commentator has further supplemented the information by saying that the three and a *saṭṭaka* which Rājasekhara showed to Śaṅkara were *Bālarā-māyaṇa*, *Viddhaśālabhaṇjika*, *Prachandapāṇḍava* and *Karpūramanjari*. As these works are known to be the works of a northern poet called Rājasekhara who flourished in the court of Mahēndrapāla of the middle of the 10th century and who could not have been Śaṅkara's contemporary, the author of the *Stava* was perhaps confused by the similarity of names into the identification of a Kēraḷa king Rājasekhara with the northern poet of a later date. This leaves the *Śaṅkaravijaya* statement that a Kēraḷa king was the author of three dramas still unexplained, and it is not known if *Mādhavāchārya* was himself misled by the identity in the names of the two different individuals.

Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L., has, in a learned article in Malayalam⁴ attempted to solve the difficulty by supposing that Rājasekhara may be a title of the Chēra king Kulasekharavarman, the accredited author of the two dramas *Tapatīsamcaranāṇam* and *Subhadrādhanaṇḍayam* and of a hypothetical third called *Vichchinnābhishikṣa*. Against this it may be said that the name of the Kēraḷa king of the Tiruvalla copper-plate cannot have been a title like Rājasekharavarman or Māgarvarman of the Tamil records, because of the specific mention of him as Rājaraja-Paramesvara-Bhaṭṭāraka-Rājasekhara-dēva, the first three being his titles and the last word his distinctive name. The word *Namaśśivāya* prefacing his record is also against his being identified with Kulasekhara, the author of the

1 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 178.

2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, p. 69.

3 Extracted on page 10 of the *Trav. Archæol. Series*, Vol. II.

4 *Itihāsaśikṣinī* for 1917.

Mukundamālā and the *Tirumōḷi*, which are saturated with a deep and almost exclusive devotion for Vishṇu.

Thus it may be tentatively assumed that Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ was identical with Rājāsēkharadēva of the copper-plate record and that he lived in the first quarter of the 9th century, until other convincing arguments proving the contrary are forthcoming.

In this connection it may be stated that Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ has elsewhere been identified with Bāṇa-Perumāḷ¹ (4th century A. D.), the fifth viceroy of the Perumāḷ line according to the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, on the strength of a possible reference to him in the 8th verse of the *Tirumōḷittāṇmalai-paḍigam* of Sundaramūrti:

வாமலிவாணன் வந்து வழிதந்தெனக்கேறுவதேதார்
சொல்லியானை தந்தானொடித்தான் மலையுத்தமனே—(v. 8);

which has been interpreted to express the grateful recognition on the part of Sundara of the gift of an elephant made to him by the Chēra king. According to tradition, this *paḍigam* was sung by Sundara on the eve of his departure to Kailāsa on the celestial white elephant that had been sent to fetch him up; and even if this mythological colouring is ignored, there is unmistakable evidence throughout all the verses of the poem in each individual stanza of which the gift of an elephant is dutifully acknowledged, to indicate that Sundara refers to god Śiva himself as the donor and not to any mortal, king and friend though he may be. The expressions of humility and devotion used in the verse can more fitly be considered to have been addressed to god rather than be applied to the Chēra king who stood in the relation of a disciple to Sundara. These instances are the following:—

நாயினேனைப்பொருட் படுத்தவான், ஊனுயிர்வேறுசெய்தான் (v. 1)
தொண்டனேனை, யந்தாமால் விசம்பலிழகாணையருள் புரிந்த (v. 3)
வானான்னுடர் முன்னே, தஞ்சதன் மாற்றுவித்துத் தொண்டனேன் பரமல்ல-
தொரு, வெஞ்சினவானை தந்தான் நெடித்தான் மலையுத்தமனே (v. 6)
இந்திசன் மாலபிசமன்னெழிலார் மிகுதேவரெல்லாம்,
வந்தெதிர்கொன்னவென்னை மத்தயானை யருள்புரிந்து (v. 9)

Vāṇaṇ though it may be an alternative form of Bāṇaṇ is also a contraction of the word *vāḷṇaṇ* signifying 'one who dwells', and *varamalivāṇaṇ* which has been taken as the 'Bāṇa(-perumāḷ) of great gifts' may equally appropriately refer to god 'the bestower of bounteous gifts'. It is no doubt true that Chēra kings were proverbially lavish in their munificence and that many poems have extolled their gifts of elephants to poets and other suppliants; but the *paḍigam* under reference does not appear to immortalise a mere mortal's gift.

The incidents which Sundara is supposed to have recorded in these verses have given rise to the story that Sundara-ascended to heaven with his mortal body

1 Against this identification of this Śaiva saint with Bāṇapperumāḷ of the 4th century A. D. it may be stated that the reference to Tiruvalluvar contained in the *Tirukkaiḷaṇṇa-ḷa* as *paḍivāṇa* *vaṇṇa*—point to the conclusion that its author may have flourished many centuries after the ancient poet of the 1st century A. D.

(a) அண்டு கேட்டுண்டுயிர்த்துத்தியுமைப்புகுது
மொண்டொழுகன்னையுளவென்று— பண்டையோர்க்குளைய.

(b) தூலாண யெல்லாருமென்குவார் செய்வார்
யெல்லாருஞ் செய்வர் கிறப்பென்றுஞ்—கொல்லாவே.

and that he directed god Varupa whom he has addressed as 'ஆழிகடலையாயவஞ்சையப்பர்க்கதிலிப்பதே' in the last line of the poem to publish this *padigam* to the terrestrial world. From the reference made to god Anjaikkalattappar in the last verse and from the description of Noḍittāṇmalai in verse 7 that the god of that hill was worshipped by the lord of the sea with his flower-like waves—

ஆழிகடலையாயவன் கொண்டுமுன் வந்திறைஞ்சும்

உலையுனைபுர நிவண்ணநொடித்தான்மலைபுத்தமனை—(v. 7)

one is tempted to locate Noḍittāṇmalai (the hill of Hara) in the vicinity of Anjaikkalam and not equate it with the Kailāsa hill in the midst of the Himalayas. 'ஆழிகடலையாய' may have been used as an epithet of Anjaikkalam that has elsewhere been described as splashed by the sea-waves, or, if an apostrophe, may it not refer to a chieftain of the coast (*kaḍal + araiyaṇ*)? Kailāsanatha's temples are very common in many places and the hill Noḍittāṇmalai, wherever it was, must have borne on its summit one such shrine dedicated to Śiva. It is likely that Sundara who may have gone up to worship that god was followed soon after by his royal host, that they both composed respectively on this occasion the songs *Tirunoḍittāṇmalai-padigam* and *Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā* and that some mysterious causes, having led to their sudden disappearance from the land of the living, their accredited piety may have then attracted towards their glorification the supernatural version of a celestial journey to Mount Kailāsa with their mortal bodies.

The introductory portion of the *Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā* of Cheraṁāy is also worth noting in this connection, in regard to the description it gives of god Śiva, who was seated in the *tirukkōyil* (*śrīkōyil* = temple?) at Śivapuram². The large number of the *āgamic* terms that have been employed in the detailed enumeration of the ornaments with which Śiva was decked out, seems to suggest that the royal poet had before him an iconographic representation of Śiva, which he naturally identified with the higher divinity of the Silver-Mount. The terms that have been used are the following: *chūḷamāṇi*, *paṭṭam*, *makarakuṇḍala*, *kaṇḍigai*, *channavīram*, *kēyūram*, *udarabandham*, *kaṭisūtram*, *kaṅkaṇam*, *vāchikai*, *kīṅkiṇi*, *mākkhalā*, *hāra* and *jaṭāmakuṭa* among ornaments and *jhallari*, *bhēri*, *karatāḷam*, *maddala* and *duṇḍubhi* among musical instruments.

No. 29.—Kulasekhara-Perumal.

A short account of the life and times of the royal Saint Kulasekhara-Ālvār may, with advantage, be appended here, because he was an early king of the Chēra house of Malai-maṇḍalam and the present ruling dynasty of Travancore also traces its descent from him.

- 1 Compare: சந்தித்தமால்வரைபோற்றிகடலையாழிதருகடலங்கரைமே
வந்தித்தனைச்செக்காயனெயுத்தியாலையின்பொழிலஞ்சைக்கரைத்தப்பனே—(v. 3).
and மலைக்குநீரொப்பவனவந்திறைகள் வந்தித்தெற்றிமுழங்குவனம் புரிசொன்
டமுழக்குக கடலங்கரைமேன் மகோதையனியார் பொழிலஞ்சைக்கரைத்தப்பனே—(v. 4).
- 2 சோர்வியோகத்தன்னுட் கெழுத்திசைகள் நிரங்கோயிறுள்விருப்ப —*Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā*.

It may be noted that the god at Tiruchchivapērūr (Trichur) is called Vajākkunnātha of the Vṛishabhādrī Hill.

The sources from which the material for this account can be collected are the *Divyasūri-charitam*¹ of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita (12th century), *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*² of Pippalāgiya-Perumāḷ-Jiyar (14th century), *Upadēśaraṭṇamālā* of Maṇavāḷamamuni (14th century), *Periya-tirumuḍi-aḍavu* of Kandaḍaiyappaṇ (14th century) and a few other later Vaiṣṇava works, which furnish certain traditional landmarks in the life of Kulaśekhara interspersed, more or less, with incidents of a supernatural character, that have 'mistletoed' on the original biographical trunk with the lapse of time.

The Saint was born according to these accounts in the royal Chēra dynasty at Vaṇḍi (Tiruvāṇḍiakkulam) in the 28th year of the Kali era,³ corresponding to the cyclic year Parābhava,⁴ on the Thursday of the month of Māsi, which had dvādaśi-tithi of the bright fortnight and Punarvasu-nakshatra. He was considered as an incarnation of the Śrī-Kaustubha of god Viṣṇu and as his birth in the royal family was considered to be in answer to the devout petition of the old childless king Dridhavrata, the new born prince was named Kulaśekhara, the crest jewel of his race. When the heir-apparent came of age, the old king abdicated the kingdom and retired to a quiet *vānaprastha*'s life, and the new king Kulaśekhara ascended the ancient Chēra throne to the joy of his ministers and subjects whom he pleased by his wisdom and equity. His devotion to god Viṣṇu also grew apace and he often spent his time in listening to expositions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the other sacred epics and his money in giving bursesses to the Vaiṣṇava devotees who mustered strong in his capital. His piety and sincerity were so great, it is said, that on one occasion when the pathetic story was being narrated as to how Rāvaṇa carried away the helpless Śīta from the sylvan hermitage, he at once issued orders to marshall out his army for the invasion of Ceylon and the punishment of the abductor⁵. The minister who felt jealous of the favours showered by the king on the Vaiṣṇava *bhaktas*, tried by some ruse to bring back the king from his pious infatuation, and with this end in view they trumped up on the devotees a false charge of the theft of some temple jewels; but the stratagem did not work, as Kulaśekhara vindicated their innocence by the miracle of inserting his hand in a pot

1 Appendix to the *History of Vaishnavism*, by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M. A.

2 तस्यामभूषेरकुलप्रदीपः श्रीकौस्तुभात्मा कुलसेखराख्यः ।

महीपातर्माघपुनर्वसूयदिने हरेः पूर्णकटाक्षलक्ष्यः ॥—*Divyasearicharitam*.

3 சென்னை குலசேகரராய்க்கொண்டே கூத்தியவர்க்குத்தொலை மாசுமாதத்தில் புனர்வசுநட்சத்திரம் வந்தவது நிறத்தார் — *Pippalāgiyaperumāḷ Jiyar*.

4 ௨௮ மகாலயம் பரவயலயம் மாசி மகாலயத்தி செவ்வந்திரமும் கூட புனர்வசு நட்சத்திரம் — *Guruparamparāprabhāvam*.

4 वर्षे परामवे मासे कुम्भे वै शुक्लपक्षे ।

श्रीमत् पुनर्वसूतारे दशम्यां शुक्लासरे ॥

कौस्तुभाक्षेण संज्ञे महात्मा कुलसेखरम् ।

Prapanamritam.

5 श्रीरामभक्तिरसपूर्णमनस्समृत् श्री.

रामात्मभावसहितस्सहोत्तवद्वग्ः ।

रामावणश्रवणरावणखण्डनेच्छु-

स्तिष्ठन् विवेश कुलसेखरभूमिपो यः ॥

—*Balarāmaharata* (T. A. S. IV, p. 109).

containing a live cobra and drawing it out unscathed.¹ The royal saint then threw off the reigns of government in disgust and after anointing the prince Dṛiḍhavarata who had been named after his grandfather, started out on a pilgrimage to the holy isle of Śrīrangam and spent there some years, serving and worshipping god Alagiyamanavāla of that temple after bestowing on him his pious daughter in marriage. This last incident is also mentioned in the *Koyilolugū*² to the effect that after Kali year 50, Kulaśekhara, the lord of the three Tamil kingdoms of Chēra, Pāṇḍya and Chōla, married his daughter Śōlakulavallī to the god of Śrīrangam, giving away his whole wealth as dowry, and that he built the *Sepaiven-rān-mandapa* and repaired the *prākāra* which was thereafter called the Kulaśekhara-tiruvīdi. He then visited the holy Vaishṇava temples of Tiruvēṅgaḍam, Tiruvayōdhya, Tillaī-Chitrakūṭam, Tirukkannapuram, Tirumāliurūjōlai and Tiruvixuvakkōdu and finally settled down at Brahmōḍēsam near Tirukkurukūr, the sanctified birth place of Nammālvār, where he shook off his mortal coil at the advanced age of sixty-seven. /

In the account extracted above from the orthodox versions of the life of the Ālvār, the chronological detail fixing the date of his birth in the beginning of the Kali era will not bear scrutiny and is, on the face of it, an absurd fib introduced by the later hagiographers to envelop their hero in a sacred halo of antiquity. The traditional limits for Kulaśekhara's period are Nammālvār, the famous saint of Tirukkurukūr on the one hand, and Tirumangaimappan, who is considered as the last of the twelve Vaishṇava apostles on the other. Epigraphy furnishes for the later limit of the Ālvār's time two records, one dated in the 18th year of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I³ (= A. D. 1088) which provided for the daily recital of the *Tēṭṭarundīral* (the second *Tirumōḷi*) in the Śrīraṅgam temple and another, somewhat earlier, belonging to the reign of the viceroy Chōla-Keraḷadēva⁴ (A. D. 1050), according to which arrangement was made for a similar recital from the Ālvār's work. Proceeding nearer, it has also been possible to arrive at a still earlier lower limit for Kulaśekhara from a determination of the time of Tirumangai-Ālvār,⁵ who has been found according to the latest researches to have flourished as a late contemporary of the Pallava king Dantivarman (A. D. 779-830) and possibly also during a few years of the reign of his successor Nandivarman (A. D. 830-54), in consideration of the saint's traditional long life of 105 years. It follows therefore that the Chēra Saint may have lived somewhere in the first half of the 9th century if Nammālvār,⁶ his predecessor, is assigned to the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century A. D., as has been done by some scholars.

The astronomical details of the date of birth of Kulaśekhara furnished in the *Guruparamparas* which carry an air of genuineness about them on account of their smug completeness have been calculated by Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai

1 அஞ்சலெனக் குடப்பாம்பினைக்கொண்டவர் ஊழியே.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI.

3 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 148. *Ancient India*, page 401: but the *Madras Epigl. Report* for 1909 refers only to Tirumangai's *Tirumōḍandāḍakam*.

4 *Tamiḻ eṇṇalāḍu*, p. 128.

5 *History of Vaishṇavism*, page 21.

to be equivalent to A. D. 767; but he has himself expressed the opinion¹ that these data have not the authenticity of contemporary observations, as they are often found to have been cooked up by retrospective calculations by the biographers who sketched out the Saint's lives at a later time. Their acceptance will therefore have to depend upon the confirmation received by other independent historical or literary evidence.

Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has attempted to fix the date of Kulasekhara as A. D. 825 on the strength of an historical reference in one of the verses of the *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḻi*² which, according to his interpretation, is made to refer to the defeat and death of a Pallava king of Mallai (Mahāmalla-puram) at the Chēra king's hands and of the fact that, as the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna I is also considered to have invaded the southern portion of the Pallava-dominions during the closing years of Dantivarman's reign (825) proceeding as far as Araiśūr in Tondai-nāḍu.³ Kulasekhara may, in all probability, have distinguished himself in this campaign as a Pāṇḍya vassal. Although Kulasekhara has been assigned to about the same period in this paper also, the correctness of the argument cited above may be examined. A recent writer in the *Śaṇḍamī*⁴ has advanced a theory suggesting that the *sāṟṟukkavis* tagged on to the end of the decades of verses of the *Alvārs* need not necessarily be the composition of the respective authors, but may have been supplemented by later poets between the 10th and 12th centuries after the *Nālāyiraprabandham* was collated in its present anthological form; and that this view finds support in the fact that, at least in the *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḻi*, the self-laudation expressed in the final stanzas is not in general consonance with the spirit of humility and detachment pervading the other verses of the poems. For instance, the *bhakta* who would discard a regal life and rest content to be born a fish in the hill-springs of blessed Vēṅḡḍam⁵ cannot be expected to call himself at the end of the same poem as a Kulasekhara of a murderous javelin, or elsewhere, as the king who shone with a resplendent sword at the head of a terrific army, as the lord of the triple kingdom of Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya. If therefore the theory of interpolation can be accepted, the argument that Kulasekhara has referred to his own achievement loses its weight as the line quoted is in the 11th verse of his 7th *Tirumōḻi*; but another writer in the same journal has criticised this view and has made a bold stand on the orthodox side. Leaving aside therefore this discussion about the real authorship of the *sāṟṟukkavis* of the *Prabandham*, it may be noted that the line extracted for illustration does not admit of the historical interpretation suggested above. This *Tirumōḻi* of ten verses was intended

1 Chairman's remarks on same, page 54.

2 மல்லைமாளக்கட்டுறையலர் தன்னை
யார் செழுத்தி யத்திங்கனை மாயத்து
எல்லைபில் பினை செய்யவா காணுத்
தெய்வத் தேவனெ புலம்பிய புலம்பல்
கொல்லிகாவலை மகவுழுமுடிமேல்
கோலமாம் குலசேகரன் சொன்ன
கல்வினைத்தமிழ் மரணியல்வாக்கன்
சென் னுயர் ஒம்புகாரவாறுகோ

— *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḻi*, VII. 11,

3 The *Pallavas* page 77.

4 *Śaṇḍamī*, Vol. XXI, pp. 333-40, and pp. 429-42.

5 *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḻi*, IV, 2.

to express the rapture of Dēvakī at meeting her divine son, who had been separated from her during all these long years of her incarceration by her vengeful brother and who had now returned to her after an adventurous life of exile spent in Gōkula, culminating in the slaying of Kamsa himself in a boxing match at Mathurā. The fond mother yearningly, almost jealously, pictures to herself the pleasurable sight of all the lovable attractions and juvenile sports of Kṛṣṇa which was denied to her and Vasudeva, the real parents, but which was vouchsafed to the more fortunate pair Yaśōda and Nanda, the foster-parents at Nandavraja, with whom Kṛṣṇa had spent his eventful boyhood. Her pathetic catalogue of the Gōkula incidents, from the purely infantile pranks of Kṛṣṇa up to his youthful adventures with Gōvārdhanagiri, Vṛishabhāsura, the serpent Kālīya and the demoness Pūtana, ends with his final combat with the arch-enemy Kamsa himself; and the Ālvār therefore winds up the last verse saying that he versified in his own sweet style this dolorous lament of Dēvakī, which she may have naturally poured forth to Kṛṣṇa on the occasion of his first meeting her in prison after the death of the lord of Mallai. Mallai, the usual synonym for Mahāmallaipuram appears to have been used here to refer to Mathurā, Kamsa's capital, (Mallai-mānagarum = the prosperous city—of athletes?)¹. No defeat or death of a Pallava king seems therefore to have been hinted at in this verse. It may also be noted that Kulasekhara has nowhere, in the other decades, exceeded the limit of the latter half of the final verses to embalm his name and titles; and even if this verse is taken as an exception to that rule, the interpretation put upon it is far-fetched, for the epithet 'who returned after killing the lord of Mallai' (மல்லையாணகர்க்கிறையவன் தன்னையான் செலுத்திவந்திக்கண்) has to be taken to qualify the incomparable Divine child² (மாயத்து எல்லையில் திண்ணை) rather than Kulasekhara, whose name occurs further on in the other half of the stanza and whose work was only the versification of this lament and nothing more. That Kṛṣṇa actually met his mother Dēvakī at Mathurā soon after the death of its tyrant-king, is described in the *Bhāgavatam* and is further referred to in the fourth verse of this poem, where Dēvakī says, கண்ணே! . . . இனமெயின்பத்தை இன்று எந்தன் கண்ணாற்பருகுவேற்கு இவன் தாயென திணைந்த அனலில்! If சங்குஅணை should refer to Kulasekhara, who returned from his victorious battle to worship Kṛṣṇa in gratitude, it is inexplicable why the name of that Kṛṣṇa's temple is not specifically mentioned, as on the other occasions at Kannapuram, Chitrakūṭam and Virūvakkōḍu. The last verse of the 9th *Tirumoli* or Daśaratha's Lament² is also worded in a similar spirit and only its latter

1 It is interesting to note that Pillaiapperumāl Ayyangar makes use of the pun on the word Mallai = athletes and Mahāmallaipuram in the verse:-

செறித்தபிண்பித்துத் திண்கலித்தைச் சாடி
முறித்துவிழப்பாகையுமோடி—மெறித்து
தருக்கடம்மல்கிக்குமைத்தான்மருசமென்று செஞ்சே
தருக்கடம்மல்கிக்குட்டரி

But Kulasekhara refers only to Mathur in his verse.

—*Naṇṇettutiruppati-andakūṭi*, v. 93.

2 ஏரார்த்தகருகெடுமாவிடமாயும்
வனம்புக அதுதரு ஆற்கு
தாரார்த்த தடவரைத்தோள் தயாதன் தான்
புலம்பிய அப்புகம்பல் தன்னை
காரார்த்த யெல் வலவன் கோழியர் கோல்
குடைக் குளசேகன் செறிசெய்த
சொர்த்த தமிழ்மாலை—இவை வல்லை
தினெதிக்கண் செல்வார்தாமே

—*Tirumoli*, IX. 11.

half has been reserved, as usual, for the inevitable colophon. The Pallava king Dantivarman whom Kulasekhara is considered to have encountered in A. D. 825 is not also known to have died (வரசன் சமரத்தில்) at that time, as other records of his 49th and 51st years of reign have been found at Gudimallam and Tiruchchānūr¹.

From the *Travancore State Manual*² we learn that in the beginning of the Kollam era a brahman-poet called Paṭṭattu Vāsudēva-Bhaṭṭatiri, who began life as a servant in the house of a priest, was miraculously instilled with the poetic muse by eating a few plantains given him by the god at Tiruvilakkāvu in Kēraḷa, and that he composed the two kāvyas, *Yudhishṭhiravijayam* and *Tripuradahanam*. In the Palace Library at Trivandrum are found the manuscripts of these two works which are stated to have been composed by a poet of the name of Vāsudēva. Of these the first work has been commented upon by a certain Chokkanātha and is available in the Palace Library, while another by the commentator, Rāghavakavi alias Śrīkanṭha, is also understood to exist; but the text has been published by the Nirnayasagara Press together with a third commentary of Rājānaka Ratnakanṭha, a poet who flourished in the time of the Mughal Emperor Aurangazib. From the latter fact and also because a manuscript of the work was discovered at Kashmir, its editor in the *Kāvyamālā Series*³ has hazarded the erroneous conjecture, that both the poet and the king whom he mentions may have belonged to Northern India. The other kāvya called *Tripuradahanam*, which does not appear to have been published hitherto, is also from the pen of the same author, as will be shown in the sequel. In the first few verses⁴ of the *Yudhishṭhiravijayam*, the

1 Nos. 226 and 262 of the Madras Collection for 1903 and 1904.

2 *State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 427.

3 Introduction to *Yudhishṭhiravijayam* in the *Kāvyamālā Series*, No. 60.

काश्मीरमन्तरास्य काव्यस्य विरलप्रचारत्वेन काश्मीरिकावेवैतौ पार्थिवपण्डितौ भवेताम् । अत एव
अस्थोपरि काश्मीरिकाजानकरत्नकण्ठकुटीर व्याख्या समुपलब्धा ॥

- 4 अस्ति स यजराजगती राजवरो येन गतं गुणजराजगती ।
भीषणमधिकं कवयः स्तुवन्ति जन्य यदि वमधिकं कवयः ॥ ४ ॥
सरसो भूरिच्छायाः समानफलदायिनी च भूरिच्छायाः ।
सविनयशोभा जनता यद्राज्ये यस्य भुवि सशो भाजनता ॥ ५ ॥
तस्य च वसुधामवतः काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवतः ।
वेदानामध्यायी भारतगुरुभवाधनामध्यायी ॥ ६ ॥
ये प्राप रमा चार्यं देवी च गिरां पुराणपरमाचार्यम् ।
यमशुभसन्तोदान्तं परमेश्वरमुपदिशन्ति सन्तोदान्तम् ॥ ७ ॥
ज्ञानसमग्रामेयं निवसन्तं विप्रस्तुतग्रामे वम् ।
तिलकं भूमाबाहुर्व्यस्वार्षिषु दत्तभूतिभूमाबाहुः ॥ ८ ॥
समजनि कश्चित्तस्य प्रवणशिष्योऽनुवर्तकश्चित्तस्य ।
काव्यानामालोके पटुमनसो बाभ्रुदेवनामा लोके ॥ ९ ॥
कीर्तिमद्भ्रां तेन स्मरता भारतमुधामदभ्रान्तेन ।
जगदुपहासाय मिता पार्थक्या कल्पपापहा सा यमिता ॥ १० ॥

author says that he composed the work in the reign of a king called Kulaśekhara of elephant gait, who dispelled the sorrow of his subjects, whose terrible battle-fields were extolled by poets as hovered over by vultures, whose country abounded in shady trees and yielded bumper harvests, whose subjects were peace-loving and who was himself a fit repository of fame. In this reign there lived a devout teacher named Bhārataguru (an expounder of the *Bhārata* by profession?) well-versed in the Vēdas and a pet of both Lakshmi and Sarasvatī, who was considered a very Paramēśvara in his qualities (was he also called Paramēśvara?), who was of unfathomed knowledge, who lived in an *agrahāra* peopled by pious brahmins, who was called a *tilaka* (by pāndits) and whose hands bestowed extensive gifts of lands to the needy. To such a preceptor who delighted in perusing good *kāvya*s, Vāsudēva became a willing disciple and with the idea of acquiring undying fame, he whose mind was steeped in the Bhārata lore composed in the *yamaka* style the story of Pārtha (Yudhishthira) anticipating, however, the world's ridicule.

In the *Mukundamālā* which is admitted on all hands to be the composition of the Chēra king Kulāśekhara-varman *alias* Kulāśekhara-Ālvār, the last verse is found as follows in all the hitherto printed editions:—

यस्य प्रियौ भुतधरौ कविलोकगतिौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मपरिवारशिवावभूताम् ।
तेनाम्बुजाक्षचरणाम्बुजवटपदेन
राज्ञा कृता स्तुतिरियं कुलसेखरेण ॥

But the manuscript of an annotated copy of the same poem, discovered by Mr. S. Paranesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. of Trivandrum, offers the following reading for the first half of that verse:

यस्य प्रियौ भुतिधरौ रविलोकवरी
मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपारदावभूताम् ।

and this is explained in the commentary in the sense that a (Nambūdiri) brahman called Ravi and a *pāraśava*, a member of the *vāriyar*-caste known by the name or title of Lōkavīra were the friends of the royal author¹. The *Tripuradahana* which is written in the same *yamaka* style as its sister-poem the *Yudhishthiravijaya* and which may, on this single argument, be pronounced to be the work of the same author has this piece of information to give, *viz.*, that it was composed by the son of Ravi²; and its commentator, a certain Nilakaptha (c. 13th century) has also identified this रविभूः with Vāsudēva himself³. It is also quite appropriate that

1 Some other scholars find in this verse an implied reference to Kulāśekhara's contemporaries, the brahman devotee Tondraḍippōḍi and the *pāras* Tiruppāḍālvār; and quote also 'சூரபலக அரக்காவே! எந்தாமுக்கும் தோண்டாடிப்போடி, ஆட்கள் பெறில் கண்ணகர் குடைந்தாடும் வேட்கை எஞ்ஞாவதே (II, 2) but the reference is by no means conclusive.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has द्विजन्मवरपारदावभूताम् and *Bṛhatkṣotra-muktāhara* has कविलोकवरी मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपौर्वाचरावभूताम् ।

2 मतिबलमासाद्य मितं पुरदहने रविभुवा समासाद्यमितम् — *Tripuradahana*.

3 त्रिपुरदहनसंज्ञं कान्धमेतद्विधातुं कविरथ रविसुतुर्वायुदेवाभिदानः ।

निष्पन्नमचरितेन स्वच्छमीशानसंज्ञं नतजनहितदं तं स्तौति विज्ञातेभीतः ॥ — Nilakaptha's commentary.

poet Vāsudēva should have dedicated his *Yudhishthiravijayam*, a Vaishṇava composition, to Kulaśekhara the great Vaishṇava bhakta and the author of the *Mukundamālā* and *Īrumoḷi*.

It is therefore reasonable to identify king Kulaśekhara who has been glorified in the *Yudhishthiravijayam* by Vāsudēva, son of Ravi, with Kulaśekhara-Ālvār, the author of the *Mukundamālā* and the friend of Ravi and to assign the royal saint and the poet Vāsudēva to the beginning of the Kollam era.

Two dramas of the names of *Tapatisamvaranam*¹ and *Subhadrādhanañ-jayam*² published as Nos. XI and XIII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series are found to be the works of a king named Kulaśekharavarman, who styles himself as the lord of Mahodayapura, (Kodungōlur to the north of Cochin) and the crest-jewel of the Kēraḷa dynasty. It is learnt that he was also the author of an earlier prose work called the *Ācharyamañjarī*³. From the spirit of sincere devotion to god Viṣṇu that pervades the two dramas and from the similarity of ideas expressed in the *bharaṭavākya* and some other stanzas of these works with those in the *Mukundamālā*, the inference has been drawn by scholars⁴ that the two authors, who were both of them kings called Kulaśekhara were identical; and as the *Mukundamālā* is the production of the Kēraḷa king Kulaśekhara who was later on canonised as an Ālvār, the two dramas have also been considered as the works of the Vaishṇava saint. In a verse generally attributed to Rājasekhara,⁵ who may be the same as the author of *Bālarāmayanam* etc., who flourished in the first half of the 10th century, some well-deserved eulogy is bestowed on the merits of Kulaśekhara's *Ācharyamañjarī*; and from this, the lower limit of the latter author was fixed in the beginning of the 9th century, allowing a somewhat long interval for his work to earn such popularity in the distant north. The omission of the name of the preeminent dramatist Bhavabhūti (the contemporary of Avanti-varman 693-729) from the list of the *Mahākavis* Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harsha and Dandin to whom Kulaśekhara pays the due homage of reference in his *Tapatisamvaranam* has also been taken to point to the conclusion that Kulaśekhara must have lived at a time when Bhavabhūti's fame had not penetrated into the southern corner of India, i. e., in all probability about the first half of the 9th century A. D. or earlier. From these facts, the argument for assigning this king to a much later

1. तस्य राज्ञः केरळबृहदामर्णेर्महोदयपुरपरमेश्वरस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणः कृतिरियमधुना प्रयोगविषयमयतरति ।

—*Tapatisamvaranam*.

2. तपतीसवरणघटनापटुतरस्य राज्ञः कलमराक्षिपेशलकैदारिकेरळाधिनाथस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणो निजनिबन्ध-
नमय कथाति बुधहृदयम् ।

—*Subhadrādhanañjayam*.

3. यस्य परमहंसपादपङ्केतहृषीमुपलभविप्रकृतमुकुटतटस्य वसुधाविबुधधनान्धकारमिहिरायमाणकरकमलस्य
मुखकमलादयलब्ध आश्चर्यमञ्जरीकथामधुद्रवः ।

—*Tapatisamvaranam*.

4. Introduction to the *Tapatisamvaranam* in the *Triv. Sanskrit Series*.
Archaeological Report for 1996 M. E.
Bhashaposthini for 1917.

5. दुरादपि सतां धिते लिखित्वाश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ।

कुलशेखरवर्माभ्यां चकाराश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ॥

—Rājasekhara in *Saktimuktāvalī*.

6. शङ्करकालिदासहर्षदण्डिप्रमुखाणां महाकवीनामन्यस्य कस्य कवेरिदं निबन्धनम् । —*Tapatisamvaranam*.

date on the strength of a doubtful(?) reference to Dhananjaya's *Daśarūpa*¹ considered to have been made by Sumati(?), a Nambudiri brahman of Paramēśvara-maṅgalam, who was a contemporary of Kulaśekhara and who wrote the two commentaries called *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* on the two dramas under the supervision of and with suggestions received from the royal author himself, has also been contested; and it has been suggested² that a later scribe of the particular manuscript may have been responsible for the insertion in the commentary of this supplementary note quoting from *Daśarūpa*.

All the arguments noted above do not appear to be unreasonable, but in addition to them the following points may have also to be given some consideration, before the two dramas can be definitely attributed to the saint-king of the 9th century. The author of the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* has given king Kulaśekhara's personal opinion on the merits of his own dramas in the following verse:—

धनियुक्ताम्यसरणिः शस्तेति प्रोच्यते दुर्घैः ।
एतस्माद् धनियुक्ता सा रचिता नाटकद्वयी ॥

which is almost an echo of the dictum laid down by Ānandavardhana (A. D. 880) in the opening line of his *Dhvanyāloka* viz., काव्यस्वात्मा धनिरिति दुर्घैः समाम्नातपूर्वः ॥ ; and the dramas may therefore be presumed to be posterior and to be permeated with that requisite which gives the necessary life to a good composition.

In the fifth act of the *Tapatīsamvaranāṁ* occurs a verse³ where the love-lorn king is made to say that the sun sheds cool heat on him and then to request a passing cloud (apostrophised as *Akālajalada*) not to trouble the friendly sun (*Ravi-maṇḍalam*) even for a moment. From the way in which these two verses are put into the context it looks as if the author wanted to convey in this description a hidden reference to some current political event; but in cases of this type where much has to depend upon the hypothetical interpretation of particular verses one cannot afford to be dogmatic. If, however, *Akālajalada* can be taken to be a synonym for *Akālavarsha*, we know that it was a title borne by three Rashtrakūta kings of the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A. D. viz., Kṛishṇa I (A. D. 750), Kṛishṇa II (A. D. 888-911), the contemporary of the Chēra king Sthānu-Ravi and the Chōḷa Aditya, and Kṛishṇa III (937-67), the contemporary probably of the Chera king Inda-Kōḍai and his immediate predecessor and of the Chōḷa kings, Parāntakas I and II. In the two latter cases, the troubling of the Ravi-maṇḍalam may be taken to refer either to an anticipated invasion of the kingdom (*maṇḍalam*) of Sthānu-Ravi or of Chōḷa Aditya or to the temporary occupation of the territory of the Chōḷas (*Solar* dynasty) by Kṛishṇa III, who took Kanchi killing the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya at the battle of Takkōlam in A. D. 947.⁴ If the first significance was intended, Kulaśekhara should be considered to have composed the drama before

1 Introduction to *Tapatīsamvaranāṁ*, p. 4.

2 *Bhashapashipi*, for 1917.

3 हा कष्टमकालजलदः पापीदानोऽमुमालिनं तिरोधत्ते । भो भोः सौदमनीवहम् !

लास्यारम्भप्रविततशिखानर्पयन्तं कलापान् केकापूरप्रचितकुहरां कन्धरां शाययन्तम् ।

त्वं प्रेक्षस्व प्रणयविवशः प्रेमवन्तं मयूरं मा भूमेव ! क्षणमपि रवेर्मण्डलस्योपरोधी ॥ - V. 11.

4 *Hist. Sketches of Ancient Dehkan*, p. 229.

perhaps he had himself abdicated the throne according to the custom of Kēraḷa and Śthānu-Ravi had already been anointed as king. As the latter king is known from his famous copper-plate grants and the Tillaisthānam record to have been living in about A. D. 880, Kulaśekhara, his predecessor, may have to be located in the first half of the 9th century between about A. D. 830 and 850 and can then be identified with the Ālvār, who has been stated above to belong to this period; but unfortunately there is no epigraphical authority for stating that a Rāshtrakūṭa invasion of Kēraḷa or of the Chōḷa dominions was threatened in the reign of Kṛishṇa II—Akāḷavarsha. If, however, the second interpretation be accepted, the royal author of the two dramas may be considered to have been a predecessor of Indu-Kōḍaivarman who has been tentatively assumed to have begun his reign in A. D. 955, and a successor of Vijayarāgadēva who was only a prince in about A. D. 880. This was a period when cordial feelings prevailed among the three powers of the South who had made common cause for the total extinction of the main Pallava line which ended with the defeat of Aparājita at the hands of the Chōḷa Āditya I at the end of the 9th century. Śthānu-Ravi was the friend and ally of Āditya I, and princess Nili, the daughter of Vijayarāgadēva who must have succeeded Śthānu on the Chēra throne, figures as a donor to the Tiruvorriyūr temple (Chingleput District) in a record of Parāntaka I dated in A. D. 935. Parāntaka was himself connected with the Chēra dynasty by marriage as his queens one of whom was Kōkkiḷānadigal, the mother of prince Rājāditya, were Chēra princesses; but it is not known if one of these or another lady was the daughter of the Kēraḷa chief Paḷuvēttaraiyar, whom the Chōḷa king is also said to have married. Parāntaka (Vīra-Chōḷa) and his queen are known to have been donors to the Tiruvalla temple in the Travancore State.

This location of Kulaśekhara between the years 935 and 955 does not, however, necessarily preclude the possibility of the northern poet Rājāśekhara being able to refer to the former author's *Āścharyamañjarī*, which was assuredly the first of his productions; only the interval is rather short, which may also account for the possibly contemporary (?) tone of the testimony of Rājāśekhara in his appreciative stanza. It also renders it probable that the royal author was tempted to compose his dramas as *dhvaniyuktā* on a perusal of the *Dhvanyāḷōka*, the strong advocate of the employment of *dhvani* in compositions, which was at that time quite a recent critical work on Rhetoric. The only point that clashes with these surmises is the omission of the name of Bhavabhūti in the list of poets mentioned by Kulaśekhara; but it has to be supposed that the list was not exhaustive, and that the royal author mentioned in a haphazard fashion only a few of his predecessors in the realm of poetics. That there was at least one Chēra king by the name of Kulaśekhara anterior to Indu-Kōḍaivarman is proved by the fact that the father-in-law of Vijayarāgadēva was a certain Kulaśekharaḍēva and it is

1 *Trans. Archæol. Series*, Vol. II, p. 76-7.

2 " " Vol. III, p. 162.

3 *S. I. L.*, Vol. III, p. 236.

4 *T. A. S.*, Vol. III, p. 162.

5 *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 141.

6 *T. A. S.* Vol. IV, p. 144.

possible that the successor of Vijayarāga was also another Kulaśekhara, named after this maternal grandfather. All these are, no doubt, probable guesses to show that the author of the two dramas need not necessarily be equated with the saint-king of the same name, unless there are more convincing arguments in favour of that identification.

The following tentative list of the Chēra kings may for the present be drawn up, subject however to such corrections as future finds may render necessary:—

Name.	Approximate dates.
Rajaśekharadēva (whose copper-plate record is attributable to the beginning of the 9th century, and who was a contemporary of the great Śaṅkara)	800-825
Kulaśekharavarman <i>alias</i> Kulaśekhara-Ālvar, (the author of <i>Mukundamālā</i> and <i>Tirumoli</i>)	825-850
Rāma (of <i>Tripuradachana Śaurikathōdaya</i> and <i>Nalōdaya</i>)	850-870
Sthāpu-Ravi (of Kottayam-plates and Tillaisthānam record)	870-900
Vijayarāgadēva (the heir-apparent in the Kottayam plates)	900-935
Kulaśekharavarman (the author of the two dramas)	935-955
Indu-Kōdaivarman (latest regnal year 16)	955-971
Bhāskara-Ravivarman (latest regnal year 58)	978-1036
Ravi-Rāma Kulaśekhara-Chakravarti	1089-1102

E. J.—Pillar Inscriptions in the same temple.

Inscriptions E to J which are engraved on the pillars of the *surru-maṇḍapa*, or covered circumambulatory passage round the central shrine of the temple register simply the names of their respective donors; and they are all of them dated on the same day when the temple was renovated, namely Kollam year 782, Chitrai 6.

E

On a pillar in the surru-maṇḍapa.

1 என் அயிலு இஸ்	6 வர் கொயிலில்
2 சந்திரா பீமன்	7 தரணத்தரில் மெ-
3 உ உருத்தனன்	8 ச்செரி தெவன்
4 செய்வித்த கொ-	9 திருவிக்கிரமன்
5 ராபுரத்து மாதெ-	10 சதா செவை-

1 T. A. S., Vol. III, p. 173, 181.

2 [E, F, H, G, J. —These are registered as Nos. 58 to 62 respectively of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1893 A. D.]

F

On another pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|----------------------|----|--------------|
| 1 | என அயிலு (ஹ) சித்தி- | 6 | பரக்காமங்கல- |
| 2 | ரை மீர் கூஉ- | 7 | ம் தெசத்து |
| 3 | சித்திகண்ட- | 8 | இச்சுவரன் |
| 4 | ம் உருத்தூண் | 9 | கொதை ச |
| 5 | செய்வித்தான் | 10 | தாசெவை- |

G

On a third pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|----|---------------------|
| 1 | என அயிலு (ஹ) சி- | 6 | வகைக்கு பறக்க- |
| 2 | த்திரைமீர் கூஉ உ- | 7 | கயில் வனத்துரு- |
| 3 | ருத்தூண் செய்- | 8 | வாக்கும் பெருமான் |
| 4 | வித்த தானகண்- | 9 | நிருவாழ் மாந்[ப*]ன் |
| 5 | க்கு அய்யப்பன் ² அய்யப்பன் | 10 | சதாசெவை- |

H

On a fourth pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|----------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| 1 | என அயிலு (ஹ) சித்தி- | 4 | த்தூண் செய்வித்த |
| 2 | ரைமும் கூஉ சித்தி- | 5 | வினலுர் தெசத்து |
| 3 | கண்டம் உரு | 6 | கணக்கு ² அய்யப்பன் இரவி |
| | | 7 | சதாசெவை |

I

On a fifth pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 | என அயிலு (ஹ) சித்- | 5 | பாலைக்கொடு |
| 2 | திரை மாதம் கூஉ | 6 | தெசத்து கணக்கு ² |
| 3 | செவித்த ¹ கண்- | 7 | பாப்பன் பாப்பன் |
| 4 | டம் உருத்தூண் | 8 | சதாசெவை |

J

On a sixth pillar.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|----|---------------------------------|
| 1 | என | 11 | ய நிருப்பணி கணக்கு ² |
| 2 | அயிலு | 12 | எழுத்துப்பணி |
| 3 | ஹ சி- | 13 | செய்விக்கையு- |
| 4 | த்திரை | 14 | ம் செய்கையில் உரு- |
| 5 | மீர் ம் கூ- | 15 | த்தூண் செய்வி- |
| 6 | உ ராசார- | 16 | த்த நிருப்பன் திப்பா- |
| 7 | சப்ப- | 17 | க்கத்து பெருமான் |
| 8 | ஸ்ஸி. | 18 | சிவனடியான் |
| 9 | நாராயணன் ² | 19 | சதாசெவை |
| 10 | சங்கரன் ஆளா- | | |

1 The word சித்திர has been omitted.

2 These words are all expressed by symbols.

No. 31—Krishnankoyil record of Kollam 887.¹

This Tamil inscription which is engraved on the walls of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine of the Kṛṣṇasvāmin temple at Krishnankōyil, a suburb of Keralapuram, is dated in the Kollam year 887 and the astronomical details furnished in it give the English equivalent A. D. 1711, August 6.

It records that certain lands were given by a private individual called Śilayappillai-Ariyakutti to the temples of Kṛṣṇa-viṇṇavar-Emberuman and Kulaśekhara-Vināyakapillaiyār at Ravipuram which were constructed about Kollam 830, when Nayanār (king) Ravi-Ravivarman *alias* Śiṛaivāymutta-Tambirāṇār was the reigning king and that the donor secured from the king certain tax exemptions for these lands. This document was engraved on stone from the original copper-plate record by a descendant of the donor named Setṭu Velāyuda-perumāl residing in the street (*perunderuvu*) called the 'Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśekhara-perumāl-perunderuvu' of Tiruvidāṅgōḍu (a town) in Malai-maṇḍalam, in the Kollam year 887.

It is noteworthy that the suburb which grew around the nucleus of the temple was known as Ravipuram and that the Vināyaka was also named Kulaśekhara-Vināyakapillaiyār in honour of the king, to whose charitable disposition the two temples owed certain privileges.

Text.

- 1 சகரத்தம் கதகாகடுகன் மெல் செல்.
- 2 லாநின்ற கொல்லம் அரஅனெ ஒரு ஆவணி
- 3 பீர் இவ சென்ற திங்களாட்சையும் உத்திரமு-
- 4 ம் பூறுவபக்கிழத்து திறுதிகையும் ஆனைக்கரணமும்
- 5 சாத்தசித்தியபொகமும் பெற்ற இன்னுளால் மனை-
- 6 மண்டலத்து திருவிதாங்கொட்டு இரவிவன்ம-
- 7 ராய குலசெகரப்பெருமான் பெருத்தெருவில்-
- 8 ச் செட்டு வெலையுதப்பெருமான் தம்சிரந்தொழுவனெ-
- 9 ன் என் கரணவன் கிலையாபிள்ளை அரி-
- 10 யகுட்டி முன். ஷெயூரில் கொலிலும் கெட்டிவி-
- 11 த்து நயினார் இரவிபுரத்து ஸ்ரீ கிட்டிண விண்-
- 12 னாவ சென்பெருமாரையும் ஷெ கொலிலில் வ-
- 13 டக்கேயிடத்தில குலசெகரவினாயகப்பிள்ளை-
- 14 யாரையும் கற்ப்பகத்துப்பொற்றியைக் கொண்டு
- 15 பிறதிட்டையும் செய்வித்து கலைசூரமாடிவித்து
- 16 ஷெ நயினாருக்கும் பிள்ளையாருக்கும் பூசை நமக்-
- 17 காரம் அத்தானம் முத்தானம் வைக்க நெய்-
- 18 வெத்தியும் ஷகக்கு கரனொன்றுக்கு ஆக ௨௨ உரி
- 19 ஆக ௮௧ சக்கு ஆக ௨௪ படுகுக்கு ௨ வித
- 20 ம் ஷோக பௌ ௭ உரி ம் ஷெ நயினாருக்கு மாதவி
- 21 செஷம் ஆட்டைவிசெஷம் ஷகக்குப் படி-
- 22 த்துத்தின்படி உன்ன செலவும் சாந்தியுடை-

¹ This is registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. V.

- 23 மக்கு ஸம் க க்கு ன- உளப நு செ கொவில-
 24 ச் சன்னதில் இராமக்காரர் உடமையும்
 [இதையும் இதுக்கடுத்த தெக்குமதிலிலும் பார்க்கவும்]

Second panel.

- 25 சங்குத்து நீராட்டுப்பன்னி மத்தளம் கைமணி வகக்குப் படித்தரத்தின்ப-
 டி உள்ள சொறு நிக்கி ஸம் க க்கு உட-
 26 மை ன- களப ப ந உரிம் நாககரம் ஒத்து வகக்கு ஸம் க க்கு உடமை
 ன- களப ப ம் கோதை மகள் வன்னி உள்-
 27 னிட்டாரும் குமரை மகள் ஆவிடை உள்ளிட்டாரும் தாணுமை மகள் நா-
 கர உள்ளிட்டாரும் ஆக முறை
 28 க்குடி மூத்துக்குப் படித்தரத்தின்ப படி உள்ள சொறு நீக்கி ஸம் க க்கு
 ன- மிய ம் செ கொவிலுக்கு தெ-
 29 க்குக் கல்மடமும் கெட்டிவித்து உமையொருபாகப்பிள்ளையாரையும் எழு-
 த்தருழிச்சு உ-
 30 மையொருபாக முதலியாரைக் கொண்டு கலசமுமாடிவித்து செ பிள்ளை-
 யாருக்கு நாளொ-
 31 ன்றுக்கு வைத்து செய்வெத்தியம் ஆ உரி ஆக ஸம் க்கு ஆ மிடுக க்கு
 ன- நப ம் நந்தவனம் திருமாலை
 32 கெட்டு வகக்கு செ மடத்திலிருக்கிற பண்டாரத்துக்கு ஸம் க க்கு உட
 மை ன- களப ப ம் செ மடத்தில் தி-
 33 த்தியல் திருப்பெருக்கு அமுதுகொடுக்கிற வகக்கு தன்மபத்தர் உடமை-
 யும் கணக்கு உடமையும் பல-
 34 வெலை உடமையும் மற்றும் பலசெலவுக்கும் முன் எழுதிவைத்த பட்டை-
 யத்தின்படி உள்ள ன-
 35 வக செலவுக்கும் அவிழைக கட்டிலை திருவினக் கெண்ணை மாதவிசேஷம்
 ஆட்டவிசேஷம்
 36 மற்றும் பலவக செலவுக்கும் உட விச்சவபூதுவ தன்மதானப் பிறமாண-
 மாக முன் எழுதிவை-
 37 த்த பட்டையத்தின்படி உள்ள நிலமும் புரையெடமுமாவது [1*] முன்
 அளநலிஸ் வைகாசி பீ மக உ நடி-
 38 னார் இரவி இரவிவற்றமராய நிறவாய்முத்த தம்பிரான் திருவுள்ளம் பற்றிக்
 கல்ப்பித்த நுனி செ கிட்டிணுக்குப் பிள்ளையா-
 39 குக்கும் பூசை உண்ப்பட்ட வகக்கு செ சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டிக்குக்
 கொடுத்த திருமுகத்தின்படி அஞ்சலி மெ-
 40 ல்வாரம் ஒழிந்த நிலமாவிது [1*] காஞ்சினாட்டு வடசெளரில் இராசராச-
 பெரெரிக்குளத்துண் கீள் நீராகரம் சிதம்ப-
 41 ரனாதன் புள்ளியில் பெரியமடைப்பொக்கு தெக்கு மெடு முதல் கண்ணாறு
 கெல்மாரி செ ம-
 42 டைப்பொக்கில் கைதறைக்கால் முதல் கண்ணாறு கைதறை ஆக செபுன்-
 னியில் தடி
 43 பண்டாரம் பணியறை ஆன . . . புள்ளியில் செ மடை வடக்கு மெடு
 இரண்டாக் கண்ணாறு சாலியன் வய-

- 44 ல் திகு அககபம் இசுவரன் காளி புன்னியில் வடக்கு மடை பத்துமரக்-
கால் தடிகு ம கடுக்களையில் அரியகுட்டி.
- 45 இரவி புன்னியில் புதுக்குளத்தில் கின்மெல் மடைப்பொக்கு தடிகு
நிலம் . . . ல் . . உளக்கால் தடி.
- 46 கட III தகபம் உ க III ம உ ம் குறி தடிகு . .
. II ம் ம் சொனை-
- 47 மாம்பன்னி புன்னியில் குறி தடிகு . எத I III ம் உ
. ம உ நிலம் ம் உ எக II
- 48 கபம் கிழப் புதுச்சை தடிகு சு உல் இம் உ க உல் இம் ஆக புன்னி
உக்கு ம் இ-
- 49 துப்பைக் காடெரிக்குளத்தின்சில தடி பலநிலம் . . ம் பிளாக்கொட்டை-
நிலையும் நபுத திரு-
- 50 த்து தடி பல உசக கொளை ஆற்றக்கொணம் தடி பல . . சகம் I (வ-
டக்குப்பிறத்தில் வடக்குமநிலில் பார்க்கவும்)

Third panel.

- 51 ஆக வடசெரிகடுக்களா உண்ப்பட்ட தடி பல க்கு அஞ்சா-
லியும்
- 52 மெல்வாரமும் ஒழிந்து ஷெ கிட்டிண ஸின்ணவசென்பெருமான் கொளி-
சில்
- 53 சிகரரியம் பெண்டராம் தானம் தவைக்கு உண்ப்பட ஆசெந்திரதாரவெ
சந்திரா-
- 54 தித்தவரைக்கும் செட்டெச்சிலையாபிச்சை அரியகுட்டி கிருமுகம் வெண்டி-
க்கால் ஷெ உல-
- 55 க்களிலுள்ள பாட்டமும் மலைகுட்டி க்கொதைகல்லூர்ப்பற்றில் பிராயறை-
க்குளத்தின் கி-
- 56 மும் தும்பட்டறைக்குளத்தின் கிழும் பாக்கமங்கலத்து குளத்தின் கிழும்
கழனி தடிகு நபம்
- 57 தும்பட்டறைக்குளத்தின் கிழும் பாக்கமங்கலத்துக் குளத்தின் கிழும் கா-
ரைக்காய் வட்டம்
- 58 தடி க நிலம் சபம் பாக்கமங்கலத்து குளத்தின்கிள் கழத்தடிநிலம் சுபம்
பிலாமுட்டுப் பறம்பு தடி
- 59 நிலம் ஷெ உக்கு மெக்குப் புதுக்குழியும் பிராயறைக்குளத்தின் கிழ் பிரா-
யறை தடி நிலம் நபம் மாத்த-
- 60 லை தடி நிலம் உபம் ஆக்கறைக்குளத்தின் கிள் வெள்ளங்கொள்ளி தடிகு
சபம் உக்காடு தடிகு நபம்
- 61 மாம்பறைக்குளத்தின் கிழ் மாம்பறை தடிகு சுபம் சபன்குழி தடிகு ப
நிலம் மெலுதிருத்துட-
- 62 வயல் தடிகு நபம் கொழிஞ்சித்துடவயல் தடிகு சுபம் இளைபயிணக்-
குளத்தின் கிள் தலத்தடி
- 63 தடிகு சுபம் கொழியுண்ணி தடிகு நபம் மொங்காத்துடவயல் தடிகு சு
பம் பறம்புக்குழிக் -

- 64 னத்தாலும் கொற்றாலுக்குளத்தாலும் மாவடி தடிகு சபம் கொற்றாலுக்கு-
ளத்தாலும் புதிச்சைக்குள-
65 த்தாலும் பணையடி தடிகு உபம் நெடுங்குளத்தின் கீழ் பழங்குச்சொற்றுக்க-
ண்டம் தடிகு உபம் பெ-
66 குங்குளத்தின் கீழ் மாணுக்காணி தடிகு உபம் கொழிப்பறம்பு தடிகு ச-
பம் பால தடிகு
67 இபம் அத்தியடி தடிகு உபம் புதுக்குளத்தாலும் ஆறத்துக்குளத்தாலும்
கண்ணுக்குறிச்சி-
68 தடிகு உபம் பெருஞ்சிலம்பில் இடைச்சிறைக்குளத்தாலும் கல்லணையா-
லும் வாழைக்காய்த்துட-
69 வயல் தடிகு இபம் குழவிமுலைக்குளமும் லை கோணம் நெல்பாக்கொ-
ட்டு வண்ணார்-
70 குளத்தின் கீழ் மணவாழ்கொட்டமும் வாலமும் தடிகு உபம் லை ஆழ-
ங்கொட்டம்க்குளத்தின்
71 கீழ் நெக்கொட்டையடி தடிகு உபம் லை இழவன்குழமும் அத்துவறி-
குழமும் லை கொணம் தடி பல நிலம்
72 ஆக மலைநாட்டு வகவந்து கொட்டம் பெரக்கி உன்ன பாட்டவும் பாக்கொ-
ட்டு பெருங்குளத்தின் கீழ் மாவடி தடிகு
73 உபக்கு உள்ள கடமையும் கொட்டமற்று பெருமாள் அண்ணாவி அஞ்சா-
லி மெல்வாச மொழிந்து தானம்
74 வெண்டின புளியறை தடி உக சாக்கு உன்ன பாட்டவும் ஒளச்சையில்
பெற்றான் விளாகம் புறைய-

Fourth panel.

- 75 டத்துக்கும் நெய்தூர் அஞ்சாலினளாகம் பு-
76 ரயடத்துக்கும் கடமை நீக்கி உன்ன பாட்டமும் சு-
77 வாயி கொவிலிச்ச சன்னதிக்கிராமத்து மனை-
78 யும் வாலவிச்சம் பாண்டாம்பட்டினை இகவான் தெவ-
79 ன் கமணக்கொட்டைக்கு கீழ்மெல் இராச-
80 பெருவழிக்கும் தென்வடல் பெருவழிக்கும்
81 கிராமத்து வாலவிச்சக்கும் நடுவில் மனைக-
82 ளும் விளாகங்களும் தென்வடல் பெருவ-
83 ழிக்கும் கீழ்மெல் இராசபெருவழிக் கம காணிப்-
84 பொட்டு அப்பலத்துக்கு தனது வக வினை-
85 க்கும் ஆக கல்லன் விளைக்கும் கல்மடத்துக்கும் நடுவில்
86 மனைகளும் விளாகங்களும் பிச்சப்பிள்ளை-
87 யார் கொவில் விளாகவும் கின்றயடிவி-
88 ளாகவும் திருவிதாங்கொட்டுத் தென்
89 வடக்கடைவில் மெக்குச்சிறையில் கடை அம் லை-
90 வில்குளக்குச்சிற லில் கடை கூம் ஆக தெவன்
91 விளைக்கு மெற்கு குறவன் விளாகத்துக்கும் கீழ்மெல்
92 இராசபெருவழிக்கும் தென்வடல் இராசபெ-
93 ருவழிக்கும் நாயகபட்டர் விளைகளும் தாணுவி-
94 னாகத்துக்கும் நடுவில் விளைகளும் கொவி-

- 95 ஸ்மதிலுக்கும் அந்து வறிகொண்டதுக்கும் கீழ்மெ-
 96 மல் இராசபெருவழிக்கும் நாயக்கப்பட்டர் வி-
 97 னாகளுக்கும் தரணுவிகளாக்கும் பண்டாசப்பிள்ளை
 98 விக்கிரமன் சங்கரன் விளாகளுக்கும் (மகா-
 99 தொணவிளக்குக்கு தெக்குமதிலில் பாக்கவும்)

Fifth panel.

- 100 ஊரான பெருவழிக்கும் கடுகில் விளையாளும் தென்வ-
 101 டல் ப்பெருவழிக்கும் வண்ணன் குளத்துக்கும் அந்துறிகொ-
 102 ணத்துக்கும் பண்டாசப்பிள்ளை விக்கிரமன் சங்கரன் விளையாளும் க-
 103 டெவில் விளையாளும் தொட்டும் கந்தாவனமும் அகின் கி-
 104 முத்தத்துண்டுகிளாக்கும் ஆக இவ்வகைக்குள்ள பாட்ட-
 105 வும் வெண்டி பூசை உள்பட்ட சிலையும் நடத்திக்-
 106 கள்ள கிளையாப்பிள்ளை ஆரியகுட்டி விட்டுக்-
 107 காடுத்த வக இதுவும் செட்டு சிச்சையார் அணைஞ்சபெருமான்
 108 முத்தானம் பூவசக்கும் கமக்காசத்துக்கும் நான் க-க்கு அரி
 109 கருஅ ஆக ௫-ம் க-க்கு எ- கன ஆக ௫-ம் க-க்கு எ- கன-க்கு வி-
 110 ட்டுக் கொடுத்த வக கடுக்கரையில் குறி தடி கூ
 111 க்கு அகப்பற்று உ-க்கு உன்ன மெல்வரவும் ஷெயில் கடு-
 112 க்கரைப் பள்ளம் தடி கூவரனத 11 . . க்கு அகப்பற்று
 113 மெல்வாரமும் அள்ளம் இது கொண்ட அந்தரபுரத்து
 114 கெட்டையினுள் குளமும் ஷெ கொண்டம் மடிகு
 115 அஞ்சாலி மெல்வாரம் பொக்கியுள்ள பாட்ட;
 116 வும் அள்ளம் ஆவணி 11-ம் டு செட்டு வெலாயுதப்-
 117 பெருமான் தம்பிராந்தொழன் விட்டுக்கொ-
 118 டுத்த வக வடசெரியில் கரையார் கடுக்கரையில் கை-
 119 யும் காணியாட்டையும ஷெயில் குளவும் பணியடிக்கெ-
 120 காணத்துக்குளவும் ஆக இவ்வகைகளுக்கு உள்ள கெ-
 121 ல் பணவகையை வெண்டி பூசையுள்பட-
 122 ட்ட சிலவுகள் ஏறப்பெரும் நடத்திக் கொள்ளவும்
 123 ஆக இந்தவகை ஏறப்பெரும் ஷெ கொயில் தம்மபத்தாவும்
 124 ஷெ கொயில் சன்னதி இராமத்து மாசனங்களும் கூடி
 125 ன்சாரித்துக் கொள்ளுவாராகவும் இந்த தம்மத்துக்கு அ-
 126 கிதம் செய்த பெர் கெங்கை கரையிலே காராம் பக-
 127 வைக் கொங்க பாபத்தில் பொவாராகவும் இந்த தம்மம் பரி¹

No. 32—Yadaseri Copper-plate of Kollam 945.

The subjoined Tamil record is engraved in the Tamil alphabet on both sides of a single copper-plate, which has been kept as exhibit No. 10 in the Napier Museum, Trivandrum. The plate measures 10½" by 6½" exclusive of a semi-circular projection at the middle on the top of the plate, which contains the Vairāṇava triple emblem, a Teṅkalai caste-mark flanked on either side by the *śaṅkha*

1 The further lines which will have mentioned the merit of those who protected the charity are not traceable on the walls of the *maṇḍapa*.

and the *chakra*. The writing is in a good state of preservation and has been engraved between series of thinly marked parallel lines. The place wherefrom the plate was secured is not ascertainable, but from the fact that the inscription records the gifts of certain lands made by two brahman ladies to the Krishna shrine of the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa-vinnagar-Emberumāṇ at Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the northern portion of Nāṇjināḍu, the plate¹ must have belonged to the village of that name. From another inscription² it is learnt that Vadaśeri, a hamlet of Nāgercoil, was called Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and the village owed that name perhaps to one of the Vēṇāḍu rulers of the name of Ādityavarman³ who reigned in 1375 and during whose time the village and its temple may have come into prominence. An inscription⁴ of Ādityavarman *alias* Sarvaṅganātha which praises the literary attainments of the king and winds up with a verse in glorification of god Krishna of Vadaśeri is actually found engraved in that temple. The name of the god suggests that it may have got its designation after a king who had the title of Rūpanārāyaṇa. The record is dated both in the Śaka year 1691 and Kollam 945 corresponding to the cyclic year Virōdhin and on a Monday, the 27th day of Purattāsi with suklapaksha-daśami and nakshatra Śravaṇa. The details correspond to A. D. 1769, October 9. No king is however mentioned in the inscription.

The record is of some interest on account of the fact that a brahman called Rāmalingam, son of Vaittiliṅga-bhaṭṭar of the Kaundinya-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra and the Yajus-śākha and a resident in the south Maḍa street of the village, who had in the previous year made some gifts of land for conducting certain feeding charities in the temple of Krishna, having perhaps deceased suddenly, his two wives (widows), Jānakī-sāni and Parvatavarddhani-sāni undertook to get a regular document drawn up in respect of these gifts, mentioning therein the details of the several items of expenditure connected with the daily feeding of eight brahmins throughout the year of 365 days (*adhikanāl-ulpaḍa*) and the special feeding of nine additional men during every Tiruvōṇam (nak. Śravaṇa) thirteen times in the year. All the documents, relating to previous monetary and other transactions, connected with the plots of land now gifted away as charity, in all numbering four and dating from Kollam 915, were deposited in the temple-treasury and a fresh deed was drafted on a cadjan leaf from which again, it is said, this authenticated copy was afterwards incised on copper by an engraver.

As usual in later Tamil documents, the language used is somewhat ungrammatical, with no very special peculiarities, however, except that *īriyaḷ* is used for *śrīkaḷ* after the omission of the initial sibilant, Krishna is tamilised into *Kiṭṭiṇa*, *sahiraṇya* has undergone a vulgar transformation into *chakiraṇiya* and *namaskāram* has slid into the form of *namakkāram*. Grantha letters have been very sparingly used in the record, the only instances being the initial *svasti śrī* and the final *Śrī-Kṛishṇaśvāmi-tuṇai*. Many misleading numerical as well as verbal

1 This may be copper-plate No. 4 of 1084.

2 No. 66 of 1084, published on page 125.

3 *Trac. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 265.

4 T. A. S., Vol. I, p. 172.

abbreviations have been employed in the inscription and their proper values are sometimes found difficult to determine with certainty, although most of them may be guessed at with reference to the contexts.

Some of the proper names occurring in this inscription are of the villages *Īśānti-maṅḡalam*, *Varaguna-maṅḡalam*, *Bhūtappāṇḍi*, the rivulets *Araśiyār* and *Tellāndi*, and the individuals *Ulagudaiya-nācchiyaṛ*, *Tambirāṇṭolan-Sīvalakkutti* and *Kadambara-nāyaṛ* of *Iraviman*. *Bhūtappāṇḍi* is a village in the *Tovala* taluk in South Travancore, and *Īśānti-maṅḡalam* described as situated in the western portion of *Nāṇjināḍu* is a village near *Bhūtappāṇḍi*.

The name *Tambirāṇṭolan* (god's comrade) borne by an individual of the 17th century is reminiscent of the surname of saint *Sundaramūrti*, an account of whose friendship with the god (*tambirāṇ*) at *Tiruveppainallur* in the South Arcot district is narrated in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

A translation of the document has not been furnished as a major portion of it details only the boundaries of the several pieces of land and is not otherwise important.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ரீ [1*] சகாத்தம் கதகாகுலிக ன் மெல் கொல்லம்*] காசல-
- 2 நுலி விரோதி ஸ்ரீ புரட்டாதிமாதம்² உலவெ பூறுவபட்சத்து தெசமி-
- 3 யும்³ சொமவசரமுடி திரிதிராமயொகமுடி யானைக்கா-
- 4 ணமுடி பெற்ற திருவொண நட்சத்திரத்து காள் செய்த சகிரணி-
- 5 யொதாபூறுவ தம்மதான பிறமாணமாவது [11*] காஞ்சிநாட்டு
- 6 வடசுருவில் ஆதித்தவம்ம சதுர்வெறுமங்கலத்து நயினர் உரு-
- 7 வ நாசாண விண்ணவ ஸம்பெருமானார் கொகில் சிறி இ-
- 8 ண்கவாமி சன்னதியில் கிராமத்தில் தெற்கு மாடதெருவில்
- 9 கவுண்டுவிய கொத்திரத்து ஆ(பதம்)பத்தம்பருத்திரத்தில் எகசாகா-
- 10 த்தியான வைத்தில்கப்பட்டர் புத்திரன் ராமலிங்கன் திறியன் ச-
- 11 ணகியும் பதுகதவத்தினிசானியொம் கிட்டுணகவாமி சன்னதி-
- 12 யில் நீத்திய நமக்காரத்துக்கும் திருவொண பிரமண பொச-
- 13 னத்துக்கும் உதகதான பிறமாணம் எழுதிக்குடுத்த பரிசாவ-
- 14 து [11*] முன் சரிசுலு⁴ மாசுமாதம் லிசுவ எங்கள் பத்ததா ராமலிங்கன்
- 15 ம்செய்த நிலமாவது [1*] காஞ்சிநாட்டு மெல்டிடாகை சகாத்தி-
- 16 மங்கலம் மாங்குளம் கீழ்பால் சங்கண்ணா² அரசியார்கால்ப-
- 17 பொக்கில் தென்னாந்தி மடைப்புரையில் தென்னாந்தி வய-
- 18 ல் தடி க²³ க்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எல்-
- 19 கை மாடன் நாகர் உ⁴த்துக்கு-மெற்குத் தென்னெல்கை கீழ்-
- 20 மெல்க்காறுக்கு வடக்கு மெலெல்கை அரசியார்காலுக்-

1 Registered as No. 1 of the Trav. Copper-plate Colln. for 1098 A. D.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Contains land symbols.

4 Symbol for நிலம்.

- 21 குக் கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை கணக்கு சங்கராநாராயணன் ராமன்
 22 உத்துக்கு தெற்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு உள்பட்ட தென்-
 23 னாந்தி வயல் தடி கூட 'உலிசமீ'ம் தெ. கண்ணாத்தி-
 24 ல் மாங்குளம் நடுவழிமடை கரையடி நார்த்தடி தடி கூட வத | ச
 25 ல் 0 உல சமீ' க்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எல்கை அரபியார் கக-
 26 னுக்கு பெற்றுத் தென்னெல்கை உலகுடய நாச்சிய-
 27 ரர் சொனை உத்துக்கு வடக்கு மெல் எல்கை மாங்குளம் கரை-
 28 க்கும் காணுக்கும் கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை உலகுடய நாச்சிய-
 29 ரர் சொனை உத்துக்கு தெற்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு உள்பட்ட
 30 தடி கூடவத | சல் குலை சமீ'ம் வரணமங்கலம் கிழ்பால அ-
 31 ரபியார் கால்பொக்கில் கால்புதுமாபற்றில் மணறை மாகா-
 32 னி மடைப்புரையில் இரவிமன் கடம்பநாயர் வயல் தடி
 33 கூடவத | ச டிகமீ'க்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எ-
 34 ல்கை பிராணபகரி சட்டை சிதம்பரன் உத்துக்கு
 35 மெற்கு தென்னெல்கை தம்பிரான் தொழன் சிவலக்குட்டி
 36 உத்துக்கு உம் கிழ்மெல் காணுக்கும் வடக்கு மெல் எல்கை நயி-
 37 னர் பூதனாதசுவாமி உத்துக்கு கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை பூத-
 38 னாதன் ராமநாதன் உத்துக்கும் தெற்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு
 39 உள்பட்ட இரவிமன் கடம்பநாயர் வயல் தடி கூட

Second side.

- 40 கனக | ககப . . டிகமீ'ம் ஆக தடி கூட
 41 சலிசமீ'க்கு ஹுக பரட்டம் எ-கொட்டை கூடிகூஇல் தண்மைகுறை வகைக்கு
 42 னீக்கின எ-கொறையும் னீக்கி வரம்படக்கல் பரட்டம் எ-கொட்டை உலிஅல்
 43 னுக் கக்கு நமக்காரம் பெர் உக்கு அரிசி கூடக்கு எ-எ உரியும் யிரு
 44 வெஞ்ஞனம் வகைக்கு எ-உ உரியும் பழயநமக்காரம் பெர் கம் மெற்படி
 பெர் உம் ஆக
 45 பெர் அக்கு உப்பெரிக்கு வகவச்ச எ-உயும் ஆக னுன் க க்கு எ-ப உஉ ஆ-
 க பெர் க க்கு அதி-
 46 கணு னுன் கூடகயிடு க்கு சிலவு நெல் கொட்டை உலிக்கு இ கூ உஉ உரியும்
 47 மாதம் தொறும் திருவொணம் நமக்காரம் பெர்.க க்கு வைப்பு அரிசி ப
 கூஉ
 48 னும் நெய்வெத்தியம் செய்து சிலவு குடுக்குற வகக்கு வைப்பு அரிசி டூஉ
 49 னும் ஆக அரிசி வறு உரிக்கு இல் உ க்கு எ-டுமீ' உளும் பருப்பும் நாலு க-
 றியும் ஆக
 50 வச்சுட்டு வகக்கு வெஞ்சன சிலவு வகக்கு எ-வறு டூஉ கூடக்கும் ஆக இவ-
 னகபடி திரு-
 51 வொணம் நான் க க்கு எ-கொட்டை வடசஆக பெர் க க்கு ஸம் லெ க்கு
 திருவொணம் யீ

- 52 க்கு சிலவு கொட்டை சதவசம் ஆக நமக்காரம் திருவொணம் உள்பட்டவக
53 க்கு இவகபடி பெர் க க்கு சிலவு எ- கொட்டை உலக இலக- உரியும் மெ
54 கொண்டு வர சத்தக்கவிக்கு எ- கொட்டை சஉ ஆக எ- கொட்டை உலக
55 க்கும் இந்த தானம் செய்த நிலத்தை சிபண்டாரத்தில் தின்று-
56 ம் பாட்டம் அடைச்சு பாட்ட எ-ம் பற்றிக்கொண்டு இந்த தம்ம-
57 தை பரிபாலனமாக நடத்திவருவார்களாகவும் இந்த தம்ம-
58 தை பரிபாலனம் செய்தவர்கள் சாலெக சாம்ப சாரு-
59 ப்பிய சரவுச்சித்தை அடைவார்களாகவும் இந்த தம்மத்தை
60 விக்கினம் செய்தவர்கள் பிரம்மத்துரோகியாகவும் விண்ணு-
61 த்துரோகியாகவும் சிவத்துரோகியாகவும் பொவார்களாகவும் இப்-
62 படிச்சம்மதித்து இந்த சகிரணியோதக தானப்பிறமாணம்
63 எழுதிக்குடு [11*] தொம் ராமலிங்கன் திரியன் சானகிசானியும்
64 பறுவதவத்தினிசானியுமொம் இணைசுவாமி சன்னதியி-
65 ல் இப்படிக்கு ராமலிங்கன் திரியன் சானகிசானியும் பறுவத
66 வத்தினிசானியும் ஒப்பு [11*] இந்த தானப்பிறமாணம் கைஎழுதி-
67 ன தனிகைமாதெவர் கொயில் சன்னதி கிராமத்தில் லட்சுமி-
68 நாராயண சொதிரிஷி புத்திறன் வைத்தியனாதன் எழுத்து [11*] முன்பு
69 கூயடுவூ ஆவணிமாதம் உலக பூதப்பாண்டி அகரந்து
70 மாதெவன் புத்திறன் ரூரியநாராயணப்பட்டர் உள்ளிட்டாருக்கு கல்-
71 பிச்சகொடுத்த துணியம் சாற்றிய தானப்பிறமாண ஒ-
72 லை கம் யிவகைக்கு கைத்தடி ஒலை கம் கூர³ உலகூ காத
73 னாசம் காத்தினை மாதம் உலக ரூரியநாராயண உள்ளி-
74 ட்டாரொடு ஸ்ருதுக்கு ராமலிங்கப்பட்டர் உட்பட சது தா-
75 னம் செய்து வாங்கின ஒலை கம் பணம் குது க்கு எழுதி-
76 வாங்கின அற்றத்த பத்துசீட்டு கம் ஆக ஒலை சம் சிற்பண்-
77 டாரத்தில் கைப்பாளிக்கவும் செய்தொம் [11*] இந்த
78 உதகதானப்பிறமாண ஒலை பட்டையத்தும்ப-
79 டிக்குத் தாம்பிரபட்டையம் கைஎழுதின மெற்படி
80 ணரில் யிருக்கும் சிலப்பம் அணைஞ்ச பெருமாள்
81 திருநிலகண்டன் எழுத்து [11*] பரிகரஜலசரிதாணை [11*]

No. 33.—Vadaseri inscription of Kollam 639.

This record engraved on a pillar set up in the Kṛishṇasvāmin temple at Vadaśeri is in the Tamil language and alphabet. It registers the gift of some money by a certain Dīrgha-bhaṭṭa, an Ārya brāhmaṇa for the midday offerings to the god Rūpanārāyaṇa-vaṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ and for feeding a brahman in the temple with those offerings. The astronomical details of the date of donation give the equivalent A. D. 1409, July 9.

The donor Dīrgha-bhaṭṭa who is stated to have been a *paradeśi* (foreigner) of the Antārvedi-rājya was in all probability a northern brāhmaṇa; but it cannot be definitely said whether he was a permanent resident at Vadaśeri or whether the donation was made by him on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy places in

the South. Antarvādi-rājya¹ was the ancient name of 'the tract of land between the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, regarded as a sacred region and the principal seat of Aryan brāhmaṇas. It is supposed to have extended from Prayāga to Haridvāra and was also known by the names of Śāśasthālī and Brahmāvarta'.

Similar donations by northerners have been met with in records of the Tamil districts: the Tiruvorriyūr and Tiruvadi Śiva temples were the recipients of gifts by a Kashmir brahman² in the 12th century.

Text.²

First face.			
1	வல்லி ஸ்ரீ [u*] கொல்லம்	29	வா[ஸி]வதி.
2	வாஸிவதி கொல்லம்	30	என்கிவ
3	நகடகஞாயிறு	31	கடவை-
4	பதினென்று செ-	32	ச்ச நினை-
5	னற வாலுவடிவ.	33	திச்ச ஒரு
6	சுடித்து வணு-	34	தரவார.
7	மியுந் திங்கள்-	35	மரக ஒரு மி-
8	க்கிழமை[யு]ம்	36	நாதினை-
9	பெற்ற உத்திரத்தி-	37	ன ஊட்டும்-
10	ன் [னா*] நான்கிரா-	38	படி சுந்தித்த
11	ட்டு ஸபைபெயர்.	39	இவர்க்கு நான் க
12	டி வடசெரியா-	40	க்கு அமுது படி
13	ன பூரிசாதித்தி-	41	உவ க்கு எ-
14	வாடிசாதித்தி-	42	இவ எழு-
15	திமங்கலத்து	43	ரம் [u*] உப்பு அமு-
16	நயினார் உருப-	44	துக்கு எ- உரி
17	நாராயணவி-	45	துக எ-
18	ண்ணகர் எம்மெ-	Third face.	
19	பருமான் கொ-	46	இவ உரி[யு*]ம்
20	விலில் நயினா-	47	துக ம[ச*]லம் க க்கு எ-
21	ற்கு சூரியரில்	48	கன உத இவ
22	சுனவெடிநா-	49	துக
Second face.		50	ஆண்டு க க்கு மிக்க
23	தித்தி[து]	51	நான் க க்கு மரக
24	பரபெயர்-	52	மீர் உவ-
25	களில் [தி]-	53	க்கு ஊற்று-
26	வாடிசாதி-	54	க்கு முன்று
27	ர் வாடிசாதி-	55	கொட்டை செ-
28	ரக உச்சி-	56	ல்து கிழக்காடு
		57	உலையம் மகா-

1 गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्यदेशः । आप्रवायहरिद्वारपर्यन्तदेशः । ब्रह्मावर्तदेशः । उत्तरार्वाक्यः शशस्थली ॥

—Śaṅkhaśāstram, Vol. I, p. 54.

एते भगवत्यौ भूमिदेवाभौ मूलमायतनमन्तर्वेदिपूर्वेण कश्चिन्मन्त्रामन्दाकिन्यौ संवच्छेते ।

—Anargharaghava, 7 (Apte)

2 Madras Epig. Rept. for 1922, p. 103.

3 Registered as No. 66 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1984 A. D.

4 This is not understood.

58	ண்டு கடத்தும்ப-	78	஁ ஁஁ம் ஁஁
59	஁ கற்றித்து ஁-	79	஁ ஁஁ம் ஁-
60	஁஁஁ ஁ ஁஁஁	80	஁஁஁[஁*]஁஁ ஁஁஁஁-
61	஁ ஁஁஁஁஁஁஁	81	஁ ஁஁஁஁஁஁஁
62	஁ ஁஁஁ ஁஁	82	஁஁஁஁஁ ஁஁-
63	஁ ஁஁஁஁ ஁ ஁-	83	஁஁஁஁஁ ஁஁-
64	஁஁஁ ஁ ஁஁ ஁-	84	஁஁ ஁஁஁஁ ஁஁[஁*]-
65	஁஁஁஁஁ ஁-	85	஁஁஁஁஁஁஁ ஁஁-
66	஁஁஁஁஁஁஁	86	஁஁஁ ஁஁஁஁஁-
	<i>Fourth face.</i>	87	஁ ஁஁஁஁஁ ஁-
67	஁஁஁ ஁ ஁஁	88	஁஁஁஁஁ ஁஁஁-
68	஁஁஁஁஁-	89	஁஁஁஁஁ ஁஁஁-
69	஁஁஁஁஁ ஁ ஁	90	஁஁஁ ஁஁஁஁-
70	஁ ஁஁஁஁஁-	91	஁஁ ஁஁஁஁஁஁஁
71	஁஁஁ ஁ ஁஁ ஁-	92	஁஁஁஁஁஁஁஁஁-
72	஁஁஁஁஁஁஁	93	஁஁஁஁஁஁ ஁஁஁஁-
73	஁ ஁ ஁஁ ஁	94	஁ ஁஁஁஁஁஁஁஁஁-
74	஁ ஁஁஁ ஁஁஁	95	஁஁஁஁஁஁஁஁஁-
75	஁ ஁஁஁ ஁஁஁஁	96	஁஁஁஁஁஁஁ ஁஁஁஁஁஁ ஁-
76	஁஁஁஁஁ ஁-	97	஁஁஁஁஁஁஁஁஁஁ [஁*]
77	஁஁஁஁஁஁஁		

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 11th day of the month of Kaṭṭaka in the Kollam year 639, which corresponded to a Monday, Uttirāṁ, fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight, the provision made as charity by Dīrgha-bhaṭṭar, an Ārya immigrant from Antavēdi-rājya, for feeding one brahman daily with the food offered to the god during the midday-service in the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emberu-māṇ of Vaḍaṣeri alias Śrīmat Ādityavarma-chaturvēdinaṭṭalam, a *brahmadēya* in Nāḍinaḍu is as follows:—

For 2 *nāḷi* of rice, 5 *nāḷi* of paddy and for salt, 1 *uri* of paddy,—in all 5 *nāḷi* and one *uri* of paddy for one day, i. e., 1 *kalam* 2 *tāṇi* 5 *nāḷi* for a month and 12 *kōṭṭai* of paddy for a year inclusive of the excess of 6 days. With this, the charity had to be conducted.

For this, 430 *paṇam* at the rate of 3 *kōṭṭai* for 100 (*paṇam*) and 20 *paṇam* for a (*śaruvam*) brass pot,—in all, 450 *paṇam* (was given):

$\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for betel leaf and arecanut offering, $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for sandle-paste, $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for ghee, and $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for vegetables: i. e., for one *paṇam* which was to be obtained as interest per month, 50 *paṇam* (was given);

i. e., in all, 500 *paṇam* (was given), and the charity had to be conducted unremittingly till the moon and the stars (last).

We, the temple servants, supervisors¹ and *paradēsis*² received this 500 *pa-*

1 The meaning of *paṇḍita-śeyār* is 'officers in charge of the internal supervision of the temple'. An appellation of earlier records in northern Travancore is analogous to it.

2 The meaning of *paradēsi* in this instance need not necessarily refer to other Āryan immigrants, but may signify East Coast brahmins in charge of the temple management or simply mendicants.

nam with libation of water on the temple threshold, (and agreed) to Dīrgha-bhātān to conduct (the charity) to (the god) Rūpanārāyaṇa-vinnagar-Emberumāṇ, till (so long as) the moon and stars (endure).

No. 34—Inscription in Krishnankoyil.

This inscription which is engraved on the east base of the flagstaff in front of the Krishnasvāmin temple at Krishnankōyil, records that the staff was installed by a certain Gaṇapati, a resident of Kuḷattūr in Kollam 945: A. D. 1770, May 7.

Text.¹

- 1 உகாசமீது இஸ் விநயுதவருஷம் சித்திரையாதம் உயிசு திங்கழ்க்கிழ-
மையும் சித்திரைநட்சத்திரமும் புகு-
2 வபட்சத்து ஆயசாதெசியும் சித்திரைமயசாகமும் பன்றிக்கரணமும் இந்த-
கபதினத்தில் துசுப்பறிட்டை த[து]மம்
3 குளத்துரன் கணபதி சதாசெர்வை உ

Translation.

In the (Kollam) year 945, (which corresponded to the cyclic year) Vikṛiti, on the 28th day of the month of Chittirai, which was a Monday and the 13th (lunar) *tithi* of the first fortnight, with nakshatra Chitrā, Siddha-yōga and Paṇḍi karaṇa—on this auspicious day, the charitable (act of) setting up of the flag (-staff) was (done as) the service of Gaṇapati of Kuḷattūr.

No. 35—Fragmentary Records of the same place.

The other three inscriptions of this temple are fragments, of which two give the Kollam years 548 and 708 respectively, while the third has neither beginning nor end, but seems to have formed part of a record relating to some provision for the feeding of twelve brahmins on *dvādaśi* days. The texts of the dated fragments are however given below, as they may be found useful at some later date.

The king mentioned in the first record is apparently Āḍityavarman Sarvāṅganātha; while the king of the other record is Veṅṇumanḱoṇḍa Udayamārttāṇḍavarman. Their names are traceable only in part in these inscriptions.

No. 67 of 1084.

- 1 ஷ்டவதி பீ கொல்லம் இசுமிசு இஸ் பனாசயந்து உயிசு சென்ற நாள் . . .
- 2 ஷட்சது ஷ்டவதிமங்கலத்து திருக்கடஞர் பனாசயணநிட்ட
- 3 ததவதித்திருவடி கொலிற்கண்பிகள் தன்மதானமாகக்குடுத்த

No. 70 of 1084.

- 1 ஷ்டவதி பீ அருளிச்செயல் கொல்லம் எனசு இஸ் காத்நினை

1 Registered as No. 68 of the Trav Epig. Colln. for 1084 n. n.

- 2 சங்கராசாயண வென்றுமன் கொண்டபூதலி
 3 சீசுவையாரில் ஆரியன் சொக்கன் பெரியபெருமான்

No. 36—Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 839.

Regarding this inscription, the following note has been made in the *Annual Report on Archæology for 1096 M. E.*:-

It states that Ichchamm-ādikutṭiyuma and Ayyappan-Mārttandan of Seru-
 viḷaiṇṇi in Chirayinkil-dēsam were granted the land called Śeriyarāṇṇiḷai in
 Neyyāttīṅkarai-dēsam. On this gift-land in Neyyāttīṅkarai, they built a *kal-*
maḍam and *ambalam*, i. e., a shed for travellers and a shrine. For the expenses
 connected with the consecration ceremony, for the performance of worship of the
 god Āchārappiḷḷai and for the proper upkeep of the flower-garden attached to the
 shed, certain house-site gardens and lands were assigned by the donors. A list
 of them is given. Among the lands so granted there were two, of which portions
 of income had been previously assigned to two temples and the balance only was
 available for the present grant. These two temples are Rānēśvarattu-Mahādeva
 and Kandaḷūrśālai-Mahādeva. The slab on which this inscription is engraved, as
 well as another bearing inscription No. 2 of Appendix B, which are now preserved
 in the Trivandrum Museum, appear to have been brought from some place near
 Neyyāttīṅkarai and Kulitturai, as their contents indicate. The former being from
 Neyyāttīṅkarai, Kandaḷūr-śālai mentioned in it is probably identical with Kandaḷūr,
 situated 6 or 7 miles from Neyyāttīṅkarai. Kandaḷūr is repeatedly referred to
 in Chōḷa inscriptions, where it also occurs in the contracted form Śālai. Earlier re-
 ferences to Kandaḷūr are found in a copper-plate record of the Āy chief Karunanda-
 ḍakkan (=866 A. D.) and the Śendalai pillar epigraph of the 8th century A. D.
 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137). Chōḷa kings maintained a powerful fleet at this
 place as well as at Talaikkūḷam and Karaikkandīśvaram, and several attempts were
 made by neighbouring kings to destroy them. Successive Chōḷa sovereigns from
 the time of Rājārāja I claim to have cut off ships at Kandaḷūrśālai which, as we
 have noted already, was shortened into Śālai. Rājādhirāja I is another of the Chōḷa
 kings, who claims to have destroyed the ships at Kandaḷūr. His long introduc-
 tions refer to the event by the phrase "Kandaḷūr-śālaikalam-aṇṇa". His Ka-
 nyākumāri inscription, like many others, summarises briefly his military achieve-
 ments thus:—"Vīra-Pāṇḍiyaṇ-talaiyṇṇ Śēralaṇ-Śālaiyṇṇ Iḷaṅgaiyṇṇ taṇḍāl-
 koṇḍa". The clause means "he who by means of his army took the head of
 Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the Śālai of the Chōḷa king and Laṅka". This introduction
 makes it plain that Śālai is the name of a place and not a common noun meaning
 a 'charity institution'. The employment of the words 'taṇḍāl-koṇḍa' 'who took
 by means of his army,' and the combination of them with Vīra Pāṇḍya's head and
 Laṅka would preclude the assignment of any other meaning. In this connection,
 it may be noted that two other inscriptions, not dated in any particular king's
 reign, mention "Karaikkandīśvarattu kalam-arra yāṇḍa" and "Talaikkūḷattu kalām-
 aru yāṇḍu". These have been wrongly connected (*vide Travancore Archæolo-*
gical Series, Vol. II, p. 2) with Rājārāja I; but there is not the least warrant for
 this, as neither 'Śālai' nor 'Rājārāja' is mentioned in these records.

Text.¹

First face.

- 1 ஒம் கெணபதெ நம [1*]
- 2 தனுவில் கியாமும்
- 3 நின்ற கெரல்லை²
- 4 அநகெரு சித்தி-
- 5 ரை மரதம் கூ. செ
- 6 ன்ற கியாமுவாச்-
- 7 சயும் சித்திரையும்
- 8 பூந்வபக்கிழந்து பவு-
- 9 ரணியும் பின்னா-
- 10 ள் சிறிவெழுதெ-
- 11 சத்து செவ்வள்ளி-
- 12 வீட்டில் வீச்சம்மா-
- 13 திருட்டியும் கணக்கு அய்ய[ப்*]-
- 14 பன் மரத்தாண்டன-
- 15 கூட. நெய்யாற்றங்க-
- 16 ரெ தெசத்து மரவாசி-
- 17 யிஷ செலியதாந்தி கி-
- 18 னாக்கு மூத்த தம்புரான்
- 19 திருவுளம்பற்றி க-
- 20 ல்பிச்சு தந்த திருமு-
- 21 கத்தின்படி ஒள்ள செ
- 22 கினையில் கல்மடமு[ம*]
- 23 கல்லம்பலவும் கெட்ட-
- 24 ச்சு செ. (ஸ்) பஞ்சுனி-²[ய]-
- 25 ச கெல[ச]மாக்கெயி[ல்]
- 26 செ. மடத்தில் தலைசெழ-
- 27 காராக வரத திருபெ-
- 28 ரு ருமபரதெசி நீராக-
- 29 ரத்துக்கும் ஆசாரபி[ன்*]னை-
- 30 யாரையும் பூசித்து நர்-
- 31 தவண பணியிடையும்
- 32 செய்திருக்கிற பண்ட[ச*]-
- 33 ரத்துக்கு ம[ற்]றும் மிண்ட ப-
- 34 ட்ட பல சிலவுக்கும் திருவி-
- 35 ளக்கு எண்ண[யு]ன்-
- 36 பட்ட பணிவகைக்கு[ம்*]
- 37 கூட உதகபூதவ த-
- 38 ம்மதான பட்டயமாக
- 39 சந்திராதித்தர் வரை-
- 40 க்கு நடக்கும் படிக்கு

1 Registered as No. 3 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1996 x. x.

2 The date corresponds to A. D. 1664, March 31.

Second face.

- 41 சிலாஸிகை-
 42 மாக நாம் வி-
 43 ட்டு குடுத்த நி-
 44 க்களும் புரெ-
 45 யடவளநு-
 46 சவது [11*] திரு
 47 முகத்தின்ம்-
 48 [19. கடம்] அடக்கி
 49 வெண்டின
 50 செறியதாநி
 51 வினை யுள்ளி-
 52 ட்ட புரெயடல்-
 53 னுக்கும் தெ- வினை-
 54 யிலும் பிற கரி-
 55 நிலுங் குடக-
 56 [ருசவ] க்கமு-
 57 டய வானுய-
 58 திருத்தித் தாநி-
 59 யல் யுள்ளிட்ட
 60 தடி பல உ-ந-
 61 யும் நயினார் [சா]டு-
 62 மகரத்து மாடு-
 63 த[ய]ர் பற்றில் நி-
 64 ந்து கடம் அடக்கி
 65 கராமயாக
 66 விட்டு தந்த ன-
 67 . சிலாஸிகை-
 68 யும் தெல் கீழ்பி-
 69 தத்து வெட்டித்தி-
 70 குத்து தடி ஒன்-
 71 னு உ-ந-பம் என்-
 72 கன் தாய்ம-
 73 ார் நிரிதன்-
 74 ம் பெற்றுடை-
 75 யொ மாயி
 76 ஆண்டன-
 77 பளித்து வருகி-
 78 த.மகாலி[யி]-
 79 ல் பெருவழி-
 80 க்கு தென் பிற-
 81 ம் கண்டனில்
 82 [சா]மெகரத்து

Third face.

- 83 மாதெவர்க்கு அஞ்சிலொ-
 84 ன்று வரா[ம்*]பொகவென்-

- 85 இம் வலியவயல் உள்ளிட்ட
 86 தடி எ உ உ ன நடுவும் [கொ]-
 87 ல்லயில் பாங்குளத்தின் கி-
 88 ழ் மஞ்ஞற்கற ரு உடு [ம்] அ-
 89 யிக்கா வட்டத்து புதுக்குளத்தி-
 90 ன் கீழ் [எ]ரிச்சிலற தடி க
 91 உ டெம் ஷெதடி உ கார் எற்-
 92 ளுசரிவருத்தியும் மஞ்ஞற்-
 93 . . . கடமபும் பொன்னும்
 94 ணுண்கொட்டு எண-
 95 பொன் குளத்தின் கீழ்
 96 குளத்தற தடி க உ யபம் ரு சூ-
 97 ன் கண்டம் உ சபம் வித்து-
 98 கொள்ளி உ எபம் . ஷெ
 99 தடி க உ பம் வள்ளல் தடி
 100 உ உ பரு காயடி தடி உ உ
 101 . குமன மெச்சன் உ அப
 102 வள்ளிவாறற உ பம் குள-
 103 வடி தடி உ உ உபயும் புளிய-
 104 டி தடி உ உ உபயும் மெக்குதெ-
 105 ர புவச்ச [பு]செயடத்தில்
 106 பாதியும் ஷெ சாயல் புளி-
 107 யடி தலெபுசெயடத்தி-
 108 னு வடக்கு கிழக்குதரெ வி-
 109 த்துகொள்ளி வயல் தடு-
 110 ல புசெயடத்தினு வட-
 111 க்கு ரீச்சருவுகன்க்கும்
 112 அகத்து அகபட்ட கரப்-
 113 புசெயடத்துவளில் பாதி-
 114 யும் ஆலத்துர் தெசத்து ச-
 115 ரப்புகாட்டில் குளத்தின் கி-
 116 ழ் கரத்தனூர் சாலை ம-
 117 ரதெவர்க்கு வரம் பெசக
 118 வெண்டு மருதற தடி க உ
 119 டெ பம் செறிய புளியடி
 120 தடி க உ டு பம் புத்தற தடி க உ
 121 டு பம் கொணத்து தடி க உ
 122 க பம் தெக்கெப்புத்தற தடி க உ
 123 சபம் கானக்கொட்டு

Fourth face.

- 124 செறகொட்டு
 125 புசெயடங்கு [ஆ*]
 126 அலிவக [தடி]
 127 பல உயகனய
 128 கபம் விந்த பு-
 129 செயடங்கு [ம்*]
 130 உட மடப்பிறம-

- 131 எக சந்திராதித்-
 132 தர் வரெக்ஞம்
 133 தம்மம் நடக்கும்-
 134 படி விட்டுக்குடு-
 135 த்து [11:] யிந்த மட த-
 136 தம்ம நடந்து வ-
 137 ருமிடத்து யாத-
 138 எமொருவர் யி-
 139 ந்த மடத்துக்கும் நி
 140 லங்களுக்கும் பு
 141 ரெயடங்களு
 142 க்கும் அருதம் டெ
 143 சய்தபெர்க-
 144 ன் தங்கன் மர-
 145 தர பிதாவை டெ-
 146 கன்ற தொழ-
 147 த்திலும் பிளும்-
 148 ணரை கொன்-
 149 ற தொழத்திலு-
 150 ம் கொள்கை-
 151 ரயில் கரணம்-
 152 பகவை கொ-
 153 ன்ற தொழத்தி-
 154 ல் பெரவாருக-
 155 வும் யிந்த தம்ம-
 156 த்துக்கு அணுக-
 157 லம் செப்ப-
 158 வர்கள் பர-
 159 மகரணுடைய
 160 பாநாசலிந்-
 161 தத்தில் செர்-
 162 வாராகவும் [11*]
 163 ஸ்ரீமாதேவ்யை

Translation.

Om ! Adoration to Gaṇapati !

The following are the lands and *puraividams* which we, Ayyappan-Martanday and Ichchamādikkutṭiyuma of Cheruvallivīdu in Chirayinkil-dēsam, assigned—on this day, *i.e.*, after three days of the month of Chittirai of the Kollam year 839, when Jupiter was 'n Dhanus, and which corresponded to Thursday, the Chitrā-nakshatra and the full-moon *tithi*,—as a charitable gift followed by libation of water, to last as long as the moon and the sun endure, and we had the gift engraved on stone, for supplying water to strangers, for the *paṇḍāram* who conducts the worship of the god Āchārappillaiyār and does the service of maintaining the flower-garden and for other incidental expenses, as well as for the money required for the expenses of supplying oil to sacred lamps to be kept in the stone shrine,

built and consecrated on the 14th day of Paṅguni in the said year, in the Śeriyatānniṣai of Maṇali in the village of Neyyāttinkarai, according to the royal order which the reigning king¹ had been pleased to grant to us:—

The gardens and other lands comprised in Śeriyatānniṣai, which had been obtained by us inclusive of *kaḍamai* according to royal order:—

land of 3 *kalam* comprised in many *taḍis* in Vāṇiyatiruttu of . . . ;

Pilāviṣai, situated in the holdings of the temple of Rāmēśvarattu-māḍēvar with the right of enjoyment of *kārāṇmai* and *kaḍamai*;

the land called Vettitiruttu (having the sowing capacity) of three *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*, situated to the east of the above;

the middle portion of the land called Valiyavayal and some other lands (having the sowing capacity) of 2 *kalam* comprised in seven *taḍi*, situated on the southern side of the high road in Maṇali, which had been under our enjoyment, having been obtained by our maternal relations as *strīdhana*, exclusive of one in five of the *vāram* assigned already to the temple of Rāmēśvarattu-māḍēva;

the land called Maññarakara, measuring 10 *para*, comprised in a *taḍi* and situated to the east of the tank named Kollayil-māṅgulaṁ;

the land called Erichchilara (having the sowing capacity) of 10 *nāḷi* comprised in one *taḍi* to the east of the tank of Pudukkulaṁ.

the *kaḍama* and gold from Errāsarivirutti, Maññara ;

the land called Kulattara to the east of Enayōṅkulaṁ in Ōṇaṅōḍu, measuring 10 *para*, comprised in one *taḍi*;

. kuḍam, (having the sowing capacity) of 4 *kurūṇi*;

Vittukolli, (having the sowing capacity) of 7 *kurūṇi* and another of 2 *kurūṇi*;

Vallal, measuring 1 *kurūṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

Kāyaḍi, measuring . . . , comprised in two *taḍi*;

Maḷamechchan, measuring 8 *kurūṇi*;

Vallivāra, measuring 1 *kurūṇi*;

Kulavaḍi, measuring 2 *kurūṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

Puliyāḍi measuring 2 *kurūṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

half of Mekkuttara Puvachcha-purayaḍam;

half of the land measuring 3 *kurūṇi* situated to the north of Puliyāḍi-talaippurayiyāḍam, to the north of Vittukollivayal-talaippurayiyāḍam and the lands *karaippurayiyāḍam* included in the water course;

the land called Maruḍara situated to the east of the tank of Sarappukkāḍu in the village of Ālattar, measuring 12 *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*, obtained exclusive of the *vāram* assigned to the temple of Kāṇḍalārśalai-mahāḍēva;

Śeriyapuliyāḍi, measuring 5 *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*,

Puttara, measuring 5 *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*;

Kōṇam, measuring 1 *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*;

1 The Muttu-Tambirāṇ is probably Vīra Ravi-Ravivarmān.

Tekkepputtara, measuring 4 *kurunji* comprised in one *taḍi*;
the *puraiyiḍams* of Śerukōḍu in Kapakkōḍu;

Thus, in all, land measuring 11 *kalam* and 11 *kurunji* comprised in many *taḍis*.

These *puraiyiḍams* also were assigned towards the requirements of the shed, so that the charity may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun endure.

While the charity relating to this shed is being conducted, if any one should cause evil to this shed, and to these lands and *puraiyiḍams*, he shall incur the sin of killing his mother and father, the sin of killing Brāhmaṇas and the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges. Those who act in favour of this charity, shall attain the lotus feet of Paramēśvara. Be it well!

No. 37—Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 957.

This Tamil inscription is engraved on a slab now preserved in the Government Museum at Trivandrum; but it must have belonged to Kulitturai.

It is dated in Kollam 957 and states that a private individual named Pich-chai-Pillai Kappam-Pillai of Mañjavilāgam house in the village of Kulitturai constructed a shed to the east of the market, sunk a well, fitted it with a water-cistern in stone, and made a gift of land. Arrangements were made to refresh men and animals passing on the way. Men were employed at the shed to see that the cistern was kept filled with water at all times, so that jaded animals may quench their thirst. Travellers were also offered cool or hot water for drinking, pickles to eat, chunam for chewing and torches to help them in their night journey. It is stated that arrangements were also made to see that ropes and *pālai* (palmyrah leaf basket) were kept ready always for drawing water from the well and that the shed was properly roofed, and kept tidy all through the year. This private charity speaks for itself and needs no comment. Other similar inscriptions show that there were similar rest-houses maintained, affording comfort to travellers on the roads at Nattālam, Aṟṟūr, Puḍār and Mayilōḍu near Tiruvidāṅgōḍu. The *ambalam* at Mayilōḍu supplied way-farers with buttermilk also. It is enough to say that these free refreshment stages existed at short intervals on main roads of traffic to give shelter to, and to relieve considerably the fatigue of travellers, in those pre-railway days when pedestrianism and carts were the only modes of travel.

It may be noticed that although the script employed is Tamil, the language which is mainly Tamil is interspersed with a few Malayalam expressions and forms. The English equivalent of the date of the record is A. D. 1782, July 22.

Text.¹

- 1 தனுகில் கிபாளம்
- 2 நின்ற கொல்லம் கூர்-
- 3 இயைவூறு ஆடி மாத-
- 4 ம் பத்து சென்ற தி-
- 5 ககனாட்சையிம் முலவும்
- 6 பூரபட்சத்து திறையொடு-
- 7 தடியும் இன்னுளால் குளு-
- 8 த்துறை தெசத்து மஞ்சவி-

¹ Registered as No. 2 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1896 M. K.

- 9 னாகத்து வீட்டில் பிச்சப்பிள்-
 10 னை கண்ணம்பிள்ளை மெல்-
 11 ப்படி தெசத்து பழயசந்-
 12 தரில் கிளக்கெப்பி-
 13 தத்தில் அம்பலவும் செ-
 14 ட்டி கிணறும் வெட்டி-
 15 தொட்டியும் அடிச்சித்-
 16 டு தொட்டியில் வெள்ளம்
 17 கொரிவிக்கவும் சாவி-
 18 ல் குடி வெள்ளம் கொரிவி-
 19 டவும் வெள்ளீர் ஊறுகாய்
 20 குடுக்கவும் சுண்ணாம்பு
 21 வெண்டி இடவும் பாளையம் கய-
 22 றும் வகைக்கும் செ அம்பலம் ஒ-
 23 ல கெட்டு வகைக்கும் நடக்கா-
 24 வு தூட்சிக்கவும்¹ இந்த வகை-
 25 ன் எ[ல்லா]ம் நடத்தி வருகி-
 26 த பண்டாசங்களுக்கு நி-
 27 லவும் புரபெடும் செம்மம் செ-
 28 [ந]டிவிட்டுருக்க வகை பா-
 29 கொடு தெசத்து மெக்கின்-
 30 ன்கரை மெலெ வீட்டு

Second face.

- 31 மெலவிட்டு விளாக
 32 புரபிடத்தி [எய சங்]² காசை
 33 வெண்டி சிலவிட்டுக் கெ-
 34 சன்னுவாராகவும் [1*] இந்த எ-
 35 னுத்தின்படி உள்ள தம்மம்
 36 களியும் நடத்திவருகிற பண்-
 37 டாசங்களுக்கு நிலவும் பு-
 38 ரபடவும் செம்மம் செ[ந]டி[னி]-
 39 ட்டிக் குடுத்தவகை அண்-
 40 டுகொடு தெசத்து அ[ளில்ல]-
 41 கொட்டு கொணத்து ராதி-
 42 ரியரங்குளத்தாலும்
 43 தெவன்குளத்தாலும் கிள்-
 44 வெங்கெறெ தடி க நிலம்
 45 [க ப] செ தெசத்து வெங்கெ-
 46 ரங்குளத்தின் கிள் படப்பற
 47 தடி க நிலம் க. ப[மு]வன்னு-
 48 தெசத்து சுரபபாலைக்குளத்தி-
 49 ன்கிள் ஊனாற தடி க நி-
 50 லம் எப டு உ-ம் வயல்கலக்க
 51 ல் கிக்கும் தெக்கு க-ம் புண்ண
 52 க ம ஆக தடி க. நிலம் கள சபடு-

1 This word is a variant of கருவிக்கவும்.

2 Probably எழுபத்தை.

- 53 வந் தெங்கு கூ-ம் புண்ணை க-ம்
 54 ஷெ அம்பலத்து வடக்கு ப்[கிற]த்து
 55 விளா[க*]த்தி[ல்] இருக்கிற விடு.
 56 ம் விளாக விருட்சங்க-
 57 னும பஞ்சக்கடயில் தெக்கெ-

Third face.

- 58 விளாகம் புர-
 59 யடத்தினு [நாலெ]-
 60 ஸ்கை கி[ளெ]-
 61 ஸ்லை அரசன்-
 62 செர் விளாக-
 63 த்தினும மெக்கு [தென்]-
 64 னல்ல இடலை-
 65 க்குந் வடக்கு மெ[ளெ]-
 66 ஸ்லை தாளக்-
 67 [கெச]டு புரமிடத்தி-
 68 னும கினக்கு வ-
 69 டவல்லை நாவறெ-
 70 விளாகத்தினு-
 71 ம் தெக்கு இவெ(ள்)-
 72 ஸ்கை நடுவில்
 73 கிடந்த மெளெ-
 74 ட்டு விளாகம்
 75 புரமிடத்தினு
 76 னுவி க-க்கு பரட்டா
 77 டெல் தனங்க-
 78 ரம் ர கடு-யும் நீ-
 79 க்கி ர யடு-க்கும் கி-
 80 லவு ஷெ அம்பல-
 81 ம் ஓலகட்டு வ-
 82 கைக்கு ர கூ-ம்
 83 பரோயும் கயறு-
 84 க்கும் ர உ-ம் க-
 85 ண்ணு[க் பு]-
 86 க்கு ர கடு-யும் ண-
 87 றுகாமி [வகை]க்கு
 88 ம[ரக] சரி வழிபெர-
 89 க்கிக்கு ருட்டுக்கு-
 90 க்கிக்கு வகைக்கு ர க-
 91 ம் ஆக இந்த வகைக்கு-
 92 சலவு ர யடு-யும் இது-

Fourth face.

- 93 [வு] ந் தெழிக்கா-
 94 ல விட்டில் பெர-
 95 கம் உடமயாக
 96 அனுபவிச்ச-
 97 கெரண்டு எரு-
 98 தின பிற(ச)காற-

- 99 ம் தம்மம் [ந]டப்[பி]-
 100 வைக்[க]உம ச-
 101 ஹவகாஸ்யமு
 102 தருமம் நடத்திக்
 103 கொள்ளுவாரா-
 104 கவும் இந்தப்படி த-
 105 தம்ம் நடத்துவாவெ
 106 எதொரு காலவும் யா¹.
 107 தா ஒருத்த ஆதி-
 108 லும் தம்ம்மத்து-
 109 க்ரு விக்கினம் வரு
 110 த்தின பெர்கள்
 111 இ[ந்த] தம்மம் மு-
 112 டக்கின பரவம்
 113 [ஏ]ற்றுக்கொ-
 114 ள்ளவானு-
 115 கவும் இந்தப்-
 116 படி தம்மதிச்-
 117 ச செ அம்பல-
 118 ததுக்கு இந்த வரு-
 119 ம்படி எல்லாம்
 120 தானகாக ஆ-
 121 செந்நிரகாஸமெ
 122 தத்தெதிப்பிற-
 123 தெசமெ கல்லு
 124 வெட்டி நாட்டிடு-
 125 டுத்த பிச்சரி-
 126 ன்னை கன்ன-
 127 ம் பிள்ளை கு-
 128 மரகவாமி துனை [11*]

Translation.

On this day tenth, expired, in the month of Āḍi of the Kollam year 957, when Jupiter stood in Dhanus, (and which corresponded to) Monday, the Mūla- (nakshatra), and the thirteenth (*tiṭhi*) of the first fortnight, Pichchappillai-Kaṇṇam-pillai of Mañjavilāgam house in the village of Kuṭitturai built a shed, dug a well, made a water-cistern on the eastern side of the old market in the said village, and assigned the following lands and house-site gardens and money for drawing water and filling up the cistern, for drawing drinking water and keeping it in a pot (*śāl*), for supplying hot-water and pickles, for giving chunam, for keeping a palm-leaf basket and rope, for thatching the shed with palm-leaves, for supervising the shrine Naḍakkāvu in it, for the *paṇḍāram* and who had to manage these arrangements:—

1 The syllables *வாவெ* are entered below the line.

2 The letters 'யம் யா' are engraved below the line.

seventy and half *kāṣu* shall be obtained from the house-site garden of Melaivittu-viḷāgam situated in Mēkkinkarai in the village of Pakōḍu and used for expenses.

The following are the lands, gardens and money, assigned for the *paṇ-ḍārams* who have to conduct the charities mentioned in this written deed:—

land (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Kīlveṅgarai, fed by water from Dēvaṅkuḷam and Paḍiriyaṅkuḷam and situated in Aḷillakōṭṭu-kōṇam forming part of the village of Aṇḍukōḍu;

land (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Paḍappaṛa under the tank of Veṅgaraṅkuḷam and situated in the same village;

land having the sowing capacity of 7 *kurūṇi* and 5 *nāḷi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Uḷāra under the tank of Śurappālaikuḷam and situated in Muvannudēsam;

3 cocoanut trees and 1 *punnai* tree standing on the land called Vayal-kalakkal;—

all together, (the portions assigned) are 3 *taḍi* of land having the sowing capacity of 1 *kalam* 4 *kurūṇi* and 5 *nāḷi*, three cocoanut trees and one *punnai*.

The house situated in the *viḷāgam* on the northern side of the shed together with the trees standing in the same *viḷāgam* (were) also (given).

The four boundaries of Tekkiviḷāgam-purayidaṁ of Paṇjukkadaḷ (given to this) are:—

The eastern boundary is to the west of Araṇṇēri-viḷāgam: the southern boundary is to the north of Iḍalai: the western boundary is to the east of Tāḷaga-kōḍu-purayidaṁ: and the northern boundary is to the south of Nāvarai-viḷāgam.

Out of the annual *pāṭṭam* money viz., 12 *paṇam* due on the Melaivittu-viḷāgam-purayidaṁ lying within the above named four boundaries, after deducting 1½ *paṇam* for . . . , the expenses for the remaining 10½ *paṇam* are:—

6 *paṇam* for thatching the said shed with palm-leaves:

2 *paṇam* for palm-leaf baskets and rope;

1½ *paṇam* for chunam and for pickles; and

1 *paṇam* for supplying wayfarers with torches:

thus the 10½ *paṇam* are for these items of expenses.

Thus shall the incomes from Telikkāvu-viḍu be rightfully enjoyed and the charities mentioned in this written deed conducted. If, while the charities are being conducted in this manner, any one should at any time, cause obstruction to this charity, he shall incur the sin of having stopped this charity. Thus agreeing, Pichchaipillai-Kannampillai assigned all these incomes as free gift to the said shed, so that they may last as long as the moon exists and be enjoyed in succession. This was caused to be engraved on a stone and (the latter) was ordered to be set up.

No. 38—Pudur inscription of the year 836.

This inscription is engraved on a pillar in a *maṇḍapa* at Pudevūr, a hamlet of Tiruvīdāṅgōḍu. It is in the Tamil language and characters.

Text.¹

1	அந்நி.	40	தண்-
2	கருணை	41	ணிநு-
3	[மீ]செஉ பன்-	42	ம் தீயு-
4	ளிச்சை ஈ	43	ம் முட்-
5	ச்சுரன் ஈ-	44	டா-
6	ச்சுரன் செ-	45	மெ-
7	விச்சு அம்-	46	ஸ் இ
8	பல-	47	ருக்-
9	த்துக்-	48	து ந-
10	கு மெ-	49	-த்தி
11	ஸ் ப-	50	வித-
12	டி ய-	51	த்து க-
13	என்	52	ட[அ*]ம-
14	உடப்-	53	யுக்
15	பிறந்-	54	இய-
16	தாள்	55	த்து
17	ரரத்-	56	யா-
18	ஸியா	57	வித்-
19	ராக-	58	க மெ-
20	ர்தம்-	59	தரன்-
21	மை	60	வரர-
22	தா-	61	ரக-
23	னம்	62	வுக்
24	குடு-	63	உடு-
25	தத தி-	64	ப்பர-
26	லம்	65	ன்
27	புது-	66	ஆ-
28	யூத்	67	ன்-
29	குள-	68	டு ஒ-
30	த்து கி-	69	ன் த-
31	ன் மு-	70	க்கு [அ]-
32	ருக்க-	71	ன்-
33	தை	72	து ப-
34	உ ப-	73	ன
35	யுக்	74	வு
36	சுத்த-	75	ம்
37	தி தி-	76	ஹ-
38	நெய்-	77	நி[*]
39	சமெ		

Translation.

To the shed (*ambalam*), built by Ichchurap-Ichchurap of Pallichchai on the 14th day of the month of Tai in the year 826, Nachchiyar-Āsundammai the uterine sister of the above person, made a gift of the land called Murukkurai (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurumi* (of seed) situated to the east the tank at

¹ Registered as No. 70 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1926 N. 2.

Puduvār, so that water and fire (perhaps torches) may be kept up without default and the land enjoyed in succession, paying the usual taxes. (She also gave) three *paṇam* for the clothing required annually. Hari !

Inscriptions at Tiruvidaikkodu.

Tiruvidaikkōḍu which is a small hamlet about three miles to the east of Padmanābhapuram contains an old Śiva temple with a shrine of Śāstā also located within the same building. In the south *prākāra* of this temple lies embedded a rough boulder of rock and on it have been engraved the records relating to the temple grants. Two of the earliest of these belonging to the Āy king Kōkkaru-nandaḍakkaṇ (A. D. 855) of the 9th century A. D., and two other Vaṭṭeluttu epigraphs² of about the 10th and 11th centuries have already been published. From them, it is evident that the temple dates from at least the third quarter of the 9th century. Local tradition derives the name of the temple from *tiru*=beautiful or sacred, *viḍai*=bull (Nandi), and *kōḍu*=hill top and Tiruvidaikkōḍu may then be considered as synonymous with Vṛishabhādri; but the real name is Iḍaikkōḍu and occurs as such in the temple's inscriptions.³

The subjoined are the other inscriptions found in the temple, either engraved on the rock referred to above, or on detached stone slabs set up in the temple compound. The *surru-maṇḍapa* round the central shrine appears to have either been erected or renovated in Kollam 769 and its pillars contain the names of their respective donors.

No. 39—Record of Ravi-Ravivarman of Kollam 548.

No. 5 of the Travancore Epigraphical collection is an important record from the palaeographical point of view, as it is specifically dated in Kollam 548 (= A. D. 1373) in the latter half of the 14th century in the reign of the Travancore king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kīlappertār. The language of the inscription is Tamil as is natural in the southern corner of the Travancore State, but the script employed marks an intermediate stage between Chōla-Grantha as such, and modern Malayalam which traces its origin from the former.

Malabar tradition ascribes the introduction of the Grantha alphabet for writing Malayalam works to the poet Tuṇjattu Rāmanujan-Eluttachchan,⁴ 'the father of Malayalam literature', who is believed to have flourished in the early part of the 8th century of the Malabar era. But it seems likely that the adaptation may have been made a century or more earlier, and that in the time of this poet the

1. *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 14-15.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 198-200.

3. See page 150 below.

4. Burnell's *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 42.

new script may have undergone some standardisation in form¹ and received more popular acceptance. With the introduction of a greater percentage of Sanskrit words in their unadulterated forms in medieval Malayalam literature as opposed to the earlier compositions which were less saturated with this foreign element, and with the popularisation of the hybrid *maṇipravāla* style which forms a distinctive feature of the Malayalam language, the older indigenous Vatteluttu script with its limited range of letters was found inadequate for the purpose of writing literary compositions in; and the Nambudiri brahmins who were the sole custodians of learning in Malabar in the earlier days, adopted the Grantha alphabet for their literary purposes. This script, supplemented by a few letters such as *ḷa*, *ṛa*, *ḷa* foreign to the Aryan language but borrowed from Vatteluttu, has been standardised as the modern cursive Malayalam alphabet, the only change that it has undergone in all these centuries being but a rounding off of its angularities, which differentiates it from modern Grantha and gives it the appearance of an individual script. Palaeographical evidence discloses that Grantha was only sparingly used in early Vatteluttu inscriptions for representing Sanskrit words, and that by about the 14th century, Grantha was adopted in its entirety for purposes of engraving inscriptions and copying manuscripts side by side with Vatteluttu, which still continued to be used.

The present record of the latter half of the 14th century is a noteworthy inscription in this respect. It marks a stage wherein the letters while retaining still their affinity to the Grantha forms have developed certain characteristics which have descended down to modern times in Malayalam. The letters also bear a marked resemblance to the alphabet employed in the Kottayam plates of Vīra-rāghava-chakravartin, and this similarity goes a long way to confirm the assignment of the latter to the 14th century A. D.² Some of the remarks made by Mr. V. Venkayya in regard to the peculiarity of the alphabet of that record applies with equal appropriateness to the script of the present epigraph:

(i) the group *kk* is expressed by adding a second horizontal stroke above the middle line forming part of the single letter;

(ii) the rough *r* is used in several places and the semi-circular loop of *u* is affixed at its bottom as in modern Malayalam;

(iii) the secondary *ā* length is a distinct symbol and the forerunner of the Malayalam in-turned loop *o*, and the secondary *i* and *ī* are represented by curves on the top of the letters;

(iv) *ta* and *na*, while retaining their affinity to the Grantha group, also approximate in their forms to their Malayalam equivalents;

(v) *ṇa*, *ya*, *ṭa*, and *ra* have almost their modern forms in Malayalam;

(vi) *bha* retains its Grantha form and has not degenerated into *ḥ*; and

(vii) conjunct consonants are written one over the other, as in *ṣeyda*, *mukappadi* (l. 19, 5), in combination in a single symbol *ttu* (l. 6) and in juxtaposition in other places *aiṇṇārru* (l. 1), no uniformity being maintained.

1 Burnell does not credit him with any attempt at systematisation in the orthography of the *Ārya-ḷuttu* except the introduction of the letters *r*, *j* and *ḷ* - p. 42.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 292.

It may thus be seen that the characters approximate to the modern Malayālam adaptations than to the original Grantha letters from which they were primarily evolved, and that this period of borrowal must therefore be at least a century earlier than the period of this epigraph, (*i. e.*), about the end of the 13th century A. D.

The subject matter of the document does not call for much remark, the record but registering a gift of land for feeding twelve brahmins in the Tiruvīḍaikkōḍu temple during the Viśākham annual festival. The king during whose reign the inscription was engraved was Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kīlappēṟṟir who was ruling over Vēṇāḍu. From the temple chronicles as extracted in the *State Manual*¹ we learn that a king called Vīra-Mārttāṇḍavarman ruled over Vēṇāḍu till about 550 M. E., when he made certain expiatory donations to the temple of Padmanābhasvāmin at Trivandrum; but epigraphical records have till now given him a reign up to Kollam 541 only. As Āḍityavarman Sarvāṅganātha of the Trivandrum Krishṇap̄kōyil epigraph² is known to have been ruling in the Śaka year 1296 expressed by the chronogram '*chōlapriya*' corresponding to Kollam 549-50, we have to consider that the Vēṇāḍu king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of the present record was his predecessor. It cannot be definitely stated when Mārttāṇḍa ceased to rule and in what year Ravi-Ravivarman commenced his reign or whether both of them were joint-rulers of Vēṇāḍu before Kollam 550.

Śrīvallabha-maṅḡlam, is mentioned in a Chōla-Pāṇḍya record of Chōla-puram as a *brahmadēya* of Nāṭṭarū-pōkku in Uttamaśōla-valanāḍu. Maṇattittai is a hamlet near Bhūtappāṇḍi.

Text.

- 1 സപസ്തി ശ്രീ [1^o] കൊല്ലം അഞ്ഞൂറു നാൽപ്പത്തു എട്ടാ
- 2 : മാണ്ട കന്നിത്തായിര ധ ചെൻറതു വെണാട്ട വ-
- 3 ള്ഞള്ളിൻറ കീഴപ്പുതു[ർ:] ഇരവി ഇരവിവർ-
- 4 ന്നിരുവടി സർഗസ്തുകവത്തുടാനം കൊടുത്ത ന്ല-
- 5 ത്തിന്ന എഴുതന്ന തിരുമുക്പ്പടി [1^o] കീഴ്കളക്കുററത്തു
- 6 : ബ്രഹ്മദേശത്തു ശ്രീവല്ലഭ മതുവതിമഞ്ചത്തു ക-
- 7 വ യത്തന്നാരയണപ്പട്ട സർഗസ്തുകവത്തു നാ-
- 8 മ്മിനാട്ടിൽ മണത്തിട്ട തെക്കാൽ കീഴൽക തിരുപ്പാപ്പു
- 9 മ്മത്ത തിരുവടിക്കു പകതിപട്ട തടി മ നില മാക-
- 10 മന്നി മുന്തിയെക്ക മെൽക്ക തെന്നെൽക തടി മ നിലം [അ]-
- 11 രാവുക്കു വടക്കു മെൽക്ക തടി മ നിലം അര-
- 12 മാവുക്കു കിഴക്കു വടക്കെൽക വാഴ്ക്കാൽക്കു
- 13 തെക്കു ഇവയൽക നടുവിൽ കിടത്ത കെ ഓ.

1 *State Manual*, Vol-I, p. 265.

2 *Trans. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 171.

3 Registered as No. 5 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E. and No. 47 of 1098 M. E.

TITUVIDAIRKODE INSCRIPTION OF KOLLAM 535



- 14 നിലം ഒരുമാ തക
 15 ഉതകപ്പുവു താഴത്താനാകെ ആചരതാ-
 16 വെൽ തന്തതിപ്രദേശമെ അതികരിച്ചുകൊ-
 17 ണ്ടു കന്നിത്തായിരം വിശാകം ആട്ടെത്തിരു
 18 നാളക്കു വിശവിടെക്കൊട്ടു ചക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു മാത-
 19 വക്കു ഇല്ലമവിട്ടനാൽ ൧ നാളി ചൊയ്ക്കു അരിയും ഒ-
 20 കാട്ടത്തു പന്തരിയ്ക്കു ചൊയ്ക്കു പിശാമ്മണക്കു അമ-
 21 തെയക്കു നടത്തുകുപാകാർ ഇല്ലെ ആകു

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 10th day of the month of Kanni in (the) Kollam (year) five-hundred and forty-eight, the land which was given as *sarvagrastaka-vastu-dānam* (an absolute gift) according to the royal order of Iravi-Iravivarman Tiruvāḍi of Kīlapperūr, who was ruling over Venāḍu to Yajñanārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa of Śrīvallabha-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadēya* of Kīlkalakūṟṟam is to the south of Maṇaltittai in Nāñjināḍu and its boundaries are the following:—

the eastern boundary is to the west of the *mākāṇi + mundirikai* of land comprised in two *tadī* belonging to Mūṭta-tiruvāḍi of Tiruppāppūr;

the southern boundary is to the north of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of land comprised in one *tadī*;

the western boundary is to the east of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of land comprised in one *tadī*;

the northern boundary is to the south of the channel;

The land lying between these boundaries which is one *mā* was bestowed as a charitable gift, preceded by a libation of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon and stars (exist) and in lineal succession, and (with the stipulation) that on the *visākha*-day in the Kanni month every year, offerings with 9 *nāḷi* of good rice by the home-measure should be made to the god Mahādēva of the Tiruvidaikkōḍu temple and that twelve brahmans should be fed therefrom.

No. 40.— Another Inscription at Tiruvidaikkodu.

This record which can be attributed to about the beginning of the 12th century from its writing, is however so badly damaged at its end that nothing could be made of the last two or three lines; but from the legible portion it is seen that it registers a gift of some money by Karpaka-śeṭṭi for feeding twelve brahmans

1 Engraved below the line.

2 The writing stops here.

on new-moon days. It may be noted that Ālūr was called Vikramachōḷa-Pāṇḍyapuram, presumably after either of the two Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys Māṇavarman Vikramaśōḷa-Pāṇḍya or Jaṭavarman Vikramaśōḷa-Pāṇḍya; and as the alphabet of the record is sufficiently early, it has to be attributed to the time of the former, who was the earlier of the two and who was the second of the viceroys sent out to administer the southern dominions of the Chōḷa king Rājendrachōḷa-dēva.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ || ஸ்ரீமதா-
- 2 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீமதா ஸ்ரீமதா ஸ்ரீமதா
- 3 யபுரத்து உடையான் பர[ப்ப]னா
- 4 கற்பக செட்டி காரிசாத்தனக்கு ப
- 5 ஸ்ரீமதா ஸ்ரீமதா ஸ்ரீமதா
- 6 பன்னிருவர் பிரமணரை
- 7 அமுதுசெய்யிப்பது அது
- 8 க்கு வெண்டுக் காய்ச்சா-
- 9 க்கும் கறி[யு]ம் அட்டி. ழி..
- 10 . க . கற்பக
- 11 உப்பு சாழி பால் சாழி . . . கு
- 12 வர் செய்-
- 13 செ..... செஷ ||

No. 41—Another Tamil Record at Tiruvidaikkodu.

This Tamil inscription is also engraved in Tamil characters on the same rock embedded in the south *prākāra* of the Śiva temple at Tiruvidaikkōḍu. It records the gift of some lands by Udaiyan-Ponnandi and Udaiyamaṅgala-naṅgai of Marudattūr, a village in Kuru-nāḍu for certain offerings to the god and for feeding seven brahmins in the temple during the *dvādaśi* days of the first fortnight.

The same penalties for default as are found in other records of this type are specified here also, *viz.*, that for every occasion of default, double the quantity at default was to be levied, for two occasions the levy of an additional fine in money was also fixed, and for three (consecutive) occasions, the *śrar* of Marudattūr and the temple servants were empowered to cancel the previous agreements and conduct the charity themselves. The terms *ṣṣru*, *yiraṇḍu* and *mūṇru* have to be taken to refer to the number of occasions of default as in other records, rather than to the number of items of the *menu* that were stopped. The tax on these lands was ordered to be met by the persons supervising their cultivation.

Kadigaippattinam was also comprised in Kuru-nāḍu.

Text.²

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [1*] துவாத்தில் வி[யாழன்] சின்ன மெடஞாயி-
- 2 த்து குதாநாட்டு மருதத்தூர் உதைய-

1 Registered as No. 11 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E. and 48 of 1098 M. E.

2 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. 1084 M. E. and 49 of 1098 M. E.

- 3 ன் பொன்னுண்டியும் உதையன் மங்-
 4 கலகலையும் திருவிடைத் தெ-
 5 காட்டு திருகொயிற்கல் வலுவ-
 6 வசைத்து ஸ்ரீரூபரி ஊட்டுவான் க-
 7 த்ப்பிச்சுது [1*] அகத்து திருவமிது-
 8 க்கு அரி எண்ணுழியும் ஸ்ரீரூப-
 9 செழுமற்கு கற்பிச்சு அரி பதிநா-
 10 ழியும் இதின்னு வெஞ்சனம் பவ-
 11 நாழி வரிச்சு கறியும் [உ]லையும் ந-
 12 செய் யுழக்கு மினகு அரையுழக்கு
 13 தெவ்வாய் ஒன்று மொர் முந்நா-
 14 ழிஉரி இதின்னு வெண்டும் உப்பு-
 15 ம் புளியும் கிறகும் இலையும் -
 16 வற்றிலை பொருக்கும் அடைக்கா-
 17 ய் எழும் கூடி ஸ்ரீரூபரிநானில் ஊ-
 18 ட்டுவான் கற்பிச்சு பூமி [1*] தொட்டி-
 19 காட்டு வெளி மால்கொட்டு ஞா-
 20 ந்கந்தடவல் நிலம் குய்ணி ஐஞ்-
 21 ஞாழியும் இதின்னு முட்டெக்கில்
 22 கூடிய நில மிருகுறுணியும் கூ-
 23 டி நிலம் முக்குறுணி அஞ்ஞாழியு-
 24 ம் குடிமார் குழித்துடவல் நிலம்
 25 இருகுறுணியும் பிராவழறை நில-
 26 ம் காத்ருறுணியும் கூடி நிலம் அ-
 27 குறுணியும் கூடி ஆக நிலம் ஒன்பதி-
 28 ன்ருறுணி அஞ்ஞாழியும் அடிகரி-
 29 க்கு மலர்கள் இம்மார்க்க-
 30 மய் செலுத்தியருவது [1*] இ-
 31 தில் ஒன்று முட்டெக்கில் முட்டி-
 32 ட்டி [1*] பிரண்டு முட்டெக்கில் முட்டி-
 33 ட்டியுந் தெண்டமு [1*] மூன்று முட்டெக்கில் மரு-
 34 தத்துர் ஊராருந் தெவகன்ம்கணுஞ்
 35 செலுத்திவிச்சுகொள்வது [1*] தொ-
 36 ட்டிகொட்டு முட்டெக்கில் கூடிய
 37 நிலத்தின்னு வரும் பிறைவரி நில-
 38 ந் தளமுறியினு மதின் தாழத்தை வ-
 39 ட்டத்தினும் [பிராய]க்கந்துடவனினுந்
 40 குடி எறறி அந்நிலமடிகரிக்குமவர் [கடமயி]-
 41 னத்து வருவது [1*] குழித்துடவனினும பிர-
 42 வவழறையினும் ஒள்ளியிறை வரி நி-
 43 லத் குடிமார் குழித்து [டயல்] நிலத் [தி]ல் கு-
 44 டி எறறி அந்நிலமடிகரிக்குமவர் கடமயி-
 45 னத்து வருவது
 46 இம்மாற்கமெ அந்நாடிதழைற் செல்விது¹ [11*]

1 This line is engraved below the section ending with line 22, owing to want of space.

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the Mōdam month when Jupiter stood in Tulām, the following was provided by Udaiyāṇ-Ponnāṇḍi and Udaiyāṇ maṅgalattu Naṅgai of Marudattūr in Kuru-nāḍu, for the feeding (charity) during the *dvādasi* (days) of the first fortnight, in the temple at Tiruvidaikkoḍu:—

for the sacred offerings in the central shrine, 8 *nāḷi* of rice;

for seven brahmins, 14 *nāḷi* of rice;

for condiments for the latter, green pulse one *nāḷi*, fried curry, *ulai*, fragrant ghee one *uḷakku*, pepper half *uḷakku* each, cocoanut one, butter-milk three *nāḷi* and one *uri*;

and again for the latter, the required quantities of salt, tamarind, firewood, leaves, one *aḍukku* of betel and seven aracanuts;

for all (the above-mentioned), for feeding on *dvādasi* days the following lands were provided:—

Jñāvarkaruḍaval field of (the sowing capacity of) one *kuruni* and five *nāḷi* in Vēlimāṅgoḍu near Toṭṭikkōḍu, together with two *kuruni* of land in Muḍōkku, i.e., land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuruni* and five *nāḷi*;

land in Kuḍimār-ttuḍaval (having the sowing capacity) of two *kuruni*; land in Pilāvalarai (having the sowing capacity) of four *kuruni*; i.e., land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kuruni*;

—in all, land (having the sowing capacity) of nine *kuruni* and five *nāḷi*.

Those who supervise these (lands) shall conduct (the charity) in this manner. If it should fail for one occasion, double the default shall be paid; if for two, double the default and a fine shall be paid; if for three the *ārār* of Marudattūr and the temple servants shall conduct (the charity) themselves.

Those who supervise the lands shall bring in ryots to the plots called Tājamuri and those lying below it and Jñāvarkaruḍaval, and thus pay the tax collectable from the lands included in Muḍōkku in Toṭṭikkōḍu. Those who supervise the lands in Kuḍimārkuḷi-ttuḍaval shall bring in ryots to them and bear the taxes collectable from the fields Kuḷittuḍaval and Pilāvalarai.

No. 42.— A Record dated in Kollam 835.

The subjoined record is engraved in Tamil characters on the four faces of a stone pillar set up in the temple compound. It is dated in Kollam 835, and relates to a gift of land made by Perumāḷ-Taṇuvaṇ for the maintenance of a water-shed on the bank of the Nāchchiyārkuḷam and has nothing to do with the Tiruvidaikkoḍu temple. It appears to have been fixed up within this temple at a later date. The caretaker in charge of the wayside choultry had, in return for the lands which were given over to him for enjoyment, to supply water, pickles, salt, firewood etc. to the wayfarers. Another record of a similar nature has been published *ante*.

1. Pirāykkaruḍaval may be Jñāvarkaruḍaval.

The donor who is stated to have belonged to the caste (?) called *dēvaputras* of the Kalkulam temple (*Nayinār Kalkulattu-mādevār kōyilil dēvaputrār il kapakku*) was perhaps a *dēvadāsa*, a temple man-servant, as opposed to his counterpart of the other gender, *dēvadāsi*. On account of hereditary temple service, the members perhaps developed into a separate sub-caste among themselves, as in the case of *ambalanāsis*, *vāriyārs* etc. It may be noted that *dēva* was also an honorific title used by the *ayambādi* body-guards of palaces, but these latter were presumably different from the *dēvaputras* of the present record.

Text.¹

First face

- 1 கனரி: கனருக [1*]
- 2 திருநீலகண்ட -
- 3 சுவாமயும் அ-
- 4 ம்மை ஆணந்த வ-
- 5 ல்லி அம்மைமயும்
- 6 இலட்ச்சிக்க [1*] -
- 7 கால்லம் அசந்ல-
- 8 ஒரு ஆவணியீர் ம் உடுவ-
- 9 நயினார் கல்குளத்து மாடு-
- 10 தவர் சொகிலில் தெய்வ-
- 11 புத்திரநில் கணக்கு பெருமாள்
- 12 தாணுவன் நாச்சியரர்க்கு-
- 13 னக்தின் கரையில் அம்பல-
- 14 ம் நீர் [வ*] சய்யும் பெணி தீயும(ர்)
- 15 தண்ணீரும் சுண்ணாம்பும்
- 16 மாந்தலையும் கட்டு ஆக்கி-
- 17 ச் செய்திற பெர்சுளுக்கு சந்-
- 18 திராத்தவனாக்கும் விட்-
- 19 குருத்த நிலமாவது [1*] காஞ்சி-

Second side.

- 20 னாட்டில் எறிச்சிரு-
- 21 னத்தில் அய்யக்குட்டி
- 22 மாடன் ஓடு சொரா -
- 23 வாத்றி க்காண்ட நில-
- 24 த்துக்கு எல்லை-
- 25 பாவது [1*] மெப்ப்படி
- 26 ஊரில் பெய்ச்சா-
- 27 ன் குளத்தின் கின் -

- 28 கெயில் மடைப்பெச-
- 29 க்ரு தடி ஒன்று நிலம்
- 30 அரமாவக்கு எல்லை-
- 31 கயாவது கீழ் எல்லை-
- 32 க மணலிக்கரை
- 33 கண்டு உழவு நில-
- 34 த்துக்கும் மெக்குத்
- 35 தென்னெல்லை
- 36 சந்திரப்பாலன்
- 37 நிலத்துக்கு வட-
- 38 கு மெல்லெல்லை-
- 39 க மணலிக்கரை
- 40 கண்டு உழவு நில-
- 41 த்துக்கும் கிளக்கு வட-
- 42 எல்லை மெப்ப்படி
- 43 வலை நிலத்துக்கும்

Third face.

- 44 தெற்கு ஆக இயிசெந்த பெ-
- 45 ருநான்கெல்லைக்கு உடப்பட்ட
- 46 தடி ஒன்று நிலம் அரமாவும் மெ-
- 47 வ்ப்படி ஊரில் [கா]றக்குடை-
- 48 ததில கிழ்வடக்கு மடை-
- 49 ப்பெரக்கு தடி ஒன்று நில-
- 50 ம் காணியரைக்காணி-
- 51 க்ரு எல்லைகயாவது கிழ்-
- 52 எல்லை தாழைப்பெரு-
- 53 மான் நிலத்துக்கும் மெ-
- 54 க்ருத் தென்னெல்லை
- 55 அய்யப்பன் பெருமாள்
- 56 மடத்துக்கு விட்டுக் குடு-

1 Registered as No. 12 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1984 n. n.

57 த்த நிலத்துக்கும வடக்கு
58 மெல்லலகை எடுத்-
59 த(ர)பாதம பிள்ளை நில-
60 த்துக்கும் விழக்கு வடஎல்-
61 கை ஆண்டார் நிலத்து-
62 க்கும் தெக்கு ஆக இயிசெர்த்-
63 த பெருநாண்கு எல்கை-
64 க்கு உள்ப்பட்ட தடி
65 ஒன்று நிலம் காணி அ-
66 ரைக்காணியும் ஆக
67 தடி பிரண்டினால் நில-
68 ம் முக்காணி அரை:

Fourth jace.

69 க்காணிக்கு உண்-
70 டான இறைகரும்
71 பெர்த்தி செழும்
72 ஒள்ள மிச்சவர-
73 ம் இந்த அம்பலத்தி-

74 லெயிருந்து தீயும்
75 தண்ணீரும் க-
76 ண்ணும்பும் உப்-
77 பு ண்ணுகாயும்
78 குடுத்து விளைகுறை
79 ஆராய்ந்து நடுத-
80 ல் கட்டு இருக்கிற செ-
81 பர்கள் அடுத்து யா-
82 விச்சு கொள்ளுவ-
83 ராகவும் இப்படி
84 யாவிச்சு பொருடு-
85 மடத்து இந்த நில-
86 த்துக்கும் இந்த தன்
87 மமர்த்துக்கும் அரு-
88 தம் செய்கிற பெர்-
89 கன் கொங்கைக் க-
90 ளையில் காராய்ப-
91 சுவை கொன்ற செ-
92 தாமுத்த பெரவர ஆ-
93 கவும் [11*].

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well : May god Tirunilākanṭha and goddess Ānandavalli protect (us).

On the 25th day of Āvaṇi in the Kollam year 835, Perunnāl-Tānuvaṇ of the community of Daivaputra, an accountant of the temple of Mahādeva at Kalkuḷam erected a rest-house, dug a drinking well on the bund of the tank (called) Nāchchiyārkuḷam, and (also) gave as long as the moon and sun endure, the following land for (the supply of) fuel, water and chunam and for (the maintenance of) him who plants and rears mango plants.

The boundaries of the land which was taken on a perpetual lease from Ayyakkutṭi-Māḍaṇ in Erichchikuḷam in Nānji-nāḍu and the boundaries of the *taḍi* of land, half *mā* in extent, lying along the course of the central channel of the Pēychchaṅguḷam in the same village are:— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the crown lands in Maṇalikkarai; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land belonging to Chandirappāḷaṇ; the western boundary (is) to the east of the crown lands in Maṇalikkarai; and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the same land:— i. e., the *taḍi* of land between these four great boundaries is half *mā* in extent.

In the same village, the boundaries of the *taḍi* of land, one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying in the course of the northern sluice of the tank called [Nāṇa] kkuḷam are:— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the land belonging to Tālaipperumāḷ; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land assigned to the *maṭha* of Ayyappaṇ-Perumāḷ; the western boundary (is) to the east of the land belonging to Eḍuttapādam-Pillai; the northern boundary (is) to the south of

the land belonging to *Āṇḍār i. e.*, the *taḍi* of land one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying between these four great boundaries:—

in all, two *taḍi* of land, three and a half *kāṇi* in extent.

The balance of produce (*vāram*) remaining after (payment of) taxes on these lands was to be enjoyed by those who reside in this rest-house, supply fuel, water, chunam, salt and pickles (to wayfarers), supervise the general conduct (of the charity) and attend to the planting (of trees).

When this is being thus enjoyed, those who do evil to this land and to this charity, shall incur the sin of having killed a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges.

No. 43— A record dated in Saka 1649.

This is another record relating to the feeding of fifty-four brahmins during *dvādaśi* in the temple of Kōḍambīśvaramuḍaiya-Nayinār at Tiruvidaikkōḍu, for which some lands were given by Perumāṇ-Kaṇḍar, the accountant (*kaṇakku*) of Maṇavaḷakkurichchi in Kaḍaigaipattanam, a village of Kuru-naḍu which was a sub-division of Rājaraṇa-Tennāḍu.

Rājaraṇa-Tennāḍu was the name of the southern portion of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, which Rājaraṇa had conquered and had rechristened in his own name. From the fact that Kaḍaigaipattanam was situated in Kuru-naḍu, this sub-division can be located in the modern Eraniel taluk. It may be noted that *kurichchi* and *pattinam* at the ends of place-names are significant of their topographical positions, *kurichchi*, being the name of the hamlets of *kurinjīnila-mākkal* or hill tribes and *pattinam* that of the villages on the sea-coast in *neydal-nīlam*, (e. g., Nāgapattinam, Kulāśekharapattinam).¹

Text.²

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 [சகா]ந்தம் கருநா. | 16 ட்டந்தில் இருந்து இரா. |
| 2 சலக செல்லா கின்ற | 17 சராச தென்னாட்டுக் கு- |
| 3 மெட வியாழம் கின்- | 18 றகாட்டு கழகைபட்ட- |
| 4 த கொல்லம் கூட ன் | 19 னம் மணவாளகுறி- |
| 5 நிலைநகவருமம் | 20 ச்சியில் கணக்குப் பெருமான் க- |
| 6 மெடமாதம் உலக டெ- | 21 ண்டன் துவாதெசி ண- |
| 7 சன்ற புதனாட்டை- | 22 ட்டுக்கு தானப்பிறமா- |
| 8 பு மகவும் பூர்[வ*]பசு- | 23 ணமாக கிட்ட நிலம்மா- |
| 9 த்து தெசமியும் கா[ச*]கா- | 24 விது [1*] திருவிடைக்- |
| 10 ண்மூல் வைறுத்தி நித்தி- | 25 காட்டு செய்கொல்- |
| 11 யபொகவும் பெ[த*]ற- | 26 கருளத்தின் கழும் வெ- |
| 12 ந் நாசால் திருவிடை- | |
| 13 கொட்டு கொடபுடி- | Second face. |
| 14 இச்சாழமுடைய நயி- | 27 ப்பறைக்குள- |
| 15 னர் திருமுக்கால் வ- | 28 த்தின் கழும் |
| | 29 கிருண்டு கொல் |

1 குறிச்சி சித்திரே சிறார் குறிஞ்சிவள்ளிவந்தனரப்போரம் பதித்திரு முகத்திலே பாடி பட்டினமே செய்தல் — Chidambaram.

2 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 n. e.

3 The English equivalent is a. n. 1727, April 19; '81; 32.

30	வினையும் த-	69	கனிஞாங்கொடு
31	ட்டான்னுட-	70	கிராமத்தார் வசம் கை-
32	வல்லும் வெ-	71	ய்ப்பாணிக்குெயில் கி-
33	ப்பறையும் தடி	72	பண்டார்க்கும் யடி
34	உ உ ¹ அபயம் உ-	73	கடமையும் இறுத்து
35	ளற்றிக்குளத்தி-	74	[த*]வாதெடு தெர றும் இ-
36	ன் கிழ ணை று	75	லச பராமணர்க்கு
37	உன்னிட்ட தடி	76	ஊட்டுடுகையில்
38	க உ களையும் ²	77	வைச்ச ஊட்டு ந-
39	இடைக்கெ-	78	டத்தி பெருமான் கண்டன்
40	ரட்டு பற்றில்		<i>fourth face.</i>
41	இடைக்கெ-	79	தறவாட்டில்
42	ரட்டு குளத்-	80	துவாதெடு-
43	தின் கிழ ம-	81	தொறும் சஉ
44	திலடி	82	அரிசி சொறும்
45	க உ ³ நுயும் க-	83	கொடுத்து தற்-
46	விஞாட்டு-	84	ம்மபத்தர் [க]-
47	பற்றில் புந்-	85	ள் பிசக
48	கறைக்குள-	86	ஆசெத்திர-
49	த்தின் கிழ[ம்*]	87	வற் ஊட்டு
50	செ தனிக்கு-	88	கடத்திக்கொள்-
51	ழக்கியும் செ-	89	வாராகவும்[1*] இந்-
52	சல்லன்ருள-	90	த தற்ம்மத்தை
	<i>Third face.</i>	91	கடத்திவருகி-
53	த்தின் கிழம் கிரு-	92	றவன் கெக்-
54	ண்டுநெல் வினையும்	93	கைக்கரையி-
55	நெடுங்கண் தடி	94	ல் காராம்பக
56	க உ ⁴ புயும் செ புரவி-	95	தர்னம் செ-
57	ல் நடுவுக்கொடு	96	ய்த பலத்தை-
58	தடி க உ ⁵ தயும் ஆக தடி	97	த யடைவாரா-
59	இனல் உ ⁶ உளளப-	98	கவும்[1*] இத்தற்-
60	யும் துவாதெடு ஊ-	99	மம் முடக்கின
61	ட்டுக்கு சடையப்பர்	100	பெர்கன் கெ-
62	கொடியில் ஊ-	101	ந்[கை] கரையில்
63	ட்டுபிரை மெக்கெ-	102	காராம்பகை-
64	க கடையில் கல்லு	103	வக் கொன்ற தொ-
65	வெட்டி நாட்டுகையி-	104	ழம் அடையவும்[1*]
66	ல் இந்த உ உளளபயும் ⁶	105	இந்த கல்லு
67	பிரமத்துவமாக தி-	106 ⁷
68	ருவிடைக்கொட்டும்		

1 தடி உ நிலம் என்னுதனியும்.

2 நிலம் ஒரு கலையும்.

3 நிலம் முக்குதனியும்.

4 நிலம் அதுகுதனியும்.

5 நிலம் துனியும்.

6 நிலம் இருவரையே எழுதுதனியும்.

7 The last line may have contained the word 'காட்டியது'.

Translation.

In the Śaka year 1649 when Jupiter stood in Mēdam, corresponding to (the) Kollam (year) 902 and the (cyclic) year Plavaṅga, on the 21st (day) of the month of Mēdam, (which was) a Wednesday, and the tenth *tithi* in the first fortnight with nakshatra Makha, *kara(śa)-karaṇam* and *vairutti-nityayōga*—on this day, the lands which Perumāṇ-Kaṇḍaṇ, the accountant of Maṇavāḷakkuruchchi (a hamlet of Kaḍikaiṇṭṭam in Kuru nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Rājarāja-Tēppāḍu, gave as charity while present in the temple (*tirumukkālvattam*) of (the god) Kōḍam-bīśvaramudaiya-nayinār of Tiruvidaikkōḍu, for the purpose of feeding on *dvādaśi* days, are the following:—

two *taḍi* of land (called) Taṭṭaṇ-tuḍaval and Vēpparai (having the sowing capacity) of 8 *kurunī*, which are irrigable by the Śeykal and Vēpparai tanks for growing paddy;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam* under the tank called Ūrrikkūḷam, inclusive of the spring;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kurunī* under the Idaikkōḍu tank in Idaikkōṭṭu-paru;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kurunī* irrigable for growing paddy from tanks called Puṅgaraiḷḷam, Taṇikkūḷam, and Sellanḷḷam in Kaṇiṭṭāṇṭu-paru;

in the same division, one *taḍi* of land in Naḍuvakkōḍu (having the sowing capacity) one *tūnī*;

—in all, from these five *taḍi*, land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kurunī* (was given) for the feeding (of brahmins) during *dvādaśi* (days) and (this gift) was engraved on a stone which was fixed up at the western entrance of the feeding-house of the temple of Śaḍaiyappar.

This land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kurunī* was left as *brahmasvām* under the supervision of the villagers of Tiruvidaikkōḍu and Kaṇiṭṭāṅgōḍu (with the stipulation) that the taxes were to be paid to the temple-treasurers, that fifty-four brahmins should be fed during each *dvādaśi* in the feeding-house, that cooked food of four *nāḷi* of rice should be given during each *dvādaśi* to the *taravaḍ* of Perumāṇ-Kaṇḍaṇ and that the feeding should be conducted as long as the moon exists, under the supervision of the *dharmakarttās*.

Those that conduct this charity shall obtain the merit of presenting a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges, and those that obstruct it shall obtain the sin of killing a tawny cow there.

This stone

No. 44—Inscriptions on pillars in the same temple.

The following inscriptions are labels found on the pillars supporting the circumambulatory-passageway round the shrine in the Tiruvidaikkōḍu temple and record the names of their respective donors. They are not important in themselves, but as it is advisable to bring together all the records relating to the temple in one

place, these are also printed below. One point only is noticeable that all the lables evidently belong to the same year as that mentioned in a few viz: Kollam 769 Arpasì, 12, when the *Surra-manḍapa* appears to have been re-constructed.

A

- 1 பரதேச்சரலை
- 2 தெசத்து கண்-
- 3 க்கு நரகன் ஆ-
- 4 திச்சன் பத்தி
- 5 ஒன்றுக்கு கொடு-
- 6 த்த ராடய

B

- 1 பன்னத்து
- 2 பன்னச்சை
- 3 நும்பய்யன்
- 4 கண்ணன்
- 5 பத்திகக்கு
- 6 உ [எடய]

C

- 1 கழைக்கட்ட-
- 2 ம் தெசத்து
- 3 கணக்கு இரா-
- 4 மன் தெவன்
- 5 செய்வித்த பத்-
- 6 தி க க்கு ர [எடய]

D

- 1 பாத்திசெகர-
- 2 மங்கலம் தெ-
- 3 சத்தில் ஒற்றயி-
- 4 ளாகத்து விட்டல்
- 5 செய்விச்ச ப-
- 6 த்தி க

E

- 1 குட்டமங்க-
- 2 லக் தெசத்து
- 3 கணக்குப் பெரு
- 4 மலை தர்மன்
- 5 கிட்டணன் செ-
- 6 ய்வித்து கு-
- 7 தெத்த பத்திக

F

- 1 மருதத்தூர்
- 2 தெசத்து க-
- 3 ணக்கு இக்ன-
- 4 வான் ஆய்யப்ப-
- 5 ன் செய்விச்ச
- 6 பத்தி க்கு ர [எடய]

G

- 1 திருவிடை-
- 2 க்கொட்டு
- 3 தெவர் புத்-
- 4 திரில் புது-
- 5 ஐர் சடை-
- 6 யன் சம்-
- 7 கான் தூண்

H

- 1 குழிக்காட்டு சா-
- 2 த்தன் ஆரங்கல்
- 3 செய்விச்ச பத்தி
- 4 ஒன்று

I

- 1 பன்னத்து
- 2 சிறபன்ளி மருதன்
- 3 நரகன் செ-
- 4 யிச்ச பத்தி
- 5 க க்கு ர . .

J

- 1 கடுவில் விளாட்-
- 2 மிரையில் கலத்-
- 3 தான் பெருமான்
- 4 செய்விச்ச
- 5 பத்தி க

K

- 1 ளாகலக (ஒரு) அற்பசி
- 2 மாதம் மீட மரச்சி-
- 3 கொட்டு முடவம்-
- 4 புறத்து பெரிய தி-
- 5 ருவடி கயினர்
- 6 திருவணந்தாழ்வான்
- 7 செய்வித்த பத்தி-
- 8 ஒன்றுக்கு குடு-
- 9 த்த ரா டய

L

- 1 ளாகலக (ஒரு)
- 2 அற்பசி மாத-
- 3 ம் மீட திருக்கா-
- 4 . ண்பபத்தம் .
- 5 யில் தெக்கெ ந-
- 6 டையம் வடக்-
- 7 கெ ணடயம்

8 . . குற்ற . .	2 கொளன் எழுந்தருளியிச்ச
9 . . கீதவ . . .	3 திருப்பூப்பலகை
10	௪
1 ஸ்ரீமதி [1*] மருதத்தார் தெவன்	1 கல்வாத் போதிக்கு சடயப்பர்

No. 45—Kalliyangadu inscription of Kollam 864.

This record, which is engraved in Tamil on the four sides of a pillar set up in the Bhagavati temple at Kalliyangadu in the Eraniel taluk, registers the gift of some lands made by a certain Chidambaram-Ilayyanayinar for offerings and worship to the god Vinayaka set up by him in the *matha* of the village and named Chidambara Vinayaka-ppillaiyar, after himself. The inscription contains elaborate details of the lands given and of the scales of expenditure to be met in the proper conduct of the charity. The English date is A. D. 1688, November 10, '83; f.d.n. '14.

Text.¹

- 1 மகரத்தில் கியாமல் நின்ற கொ-
- 2 ல்லம் அகாலச் சூழ் காத்திகை
- 3 17' உகை சனியாட்சையும்
- 4 சொதியும் அமரபக்கிழசத்து
- 5 திறியொதெசியும் சவுபாக்கி-
- 6 யயொகமும் ஆனைக்கரணமும்
- 7 பெற்ற இன்னுழால் எழுதின உத-
- 8 கழுதுவ தன்ம[த]ண பட்டைய-
- 9 மாவது [1*] தென்னாட்டுக்குது கா-
- 10 ட்டு கிரகாராயணசெரிக் கி[ழ்]பால்
- 11 கன்னியங்காட்டில் சிதம்பரம்
- 12 இளைபகிணனென் ஷெ யூரில் மட-
- 13 த்தில் சிதம்பர கிணயகப்பிள்ளை-
- 14 யார்க்கு உதகழுதுவ தன்மதான-
- 15 ப் பட்டையம் எழுதிக் குடுத்த நில-
- 16 மாவது [1*] ஷெ யூரில் அஞ்சனவன்
- 17 குளத்தாலும் ஆலடித்தனிக்குழி-
- 18 யாலும் நிருண்டு செல் கிணையும்.
- 19 முடங்கன் தடி கவு உதக-ப²ம் துலுக்-
- 20 க்கன் வயல் தடி கவு உதகை³ம் கிழ் க-
- 21 வெத்தடி தடி கவு தகை⁴ம் கிழ்-
- 22 க்ககையடியும் தொழுவடி
- 23 கூம் ஆக தடி சவு தகை⁵ம் கொல்ல-

1 Registered as No. 14 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1884 n. e.

2 இருதானி முக்குதனி.

3 இருதானிப்பதன்து.

4 தானி கதனி காரதி.

5 தானி முக்குதனி.

- 24 குளத்தின் கீழ் மெட்டுமடைப்பெ-
 25 ரக்கில் தண்டான்பறம்பு தடி கஉ¹ க-
 26 ள உ²தம் கொடுக்குழி ஆலங்குழி-
 27 யால் நிருண்டு செல் கிளையும்
 28 ஆயத்துறை வயல் தடி உஉஉ ள³ம்
 29 காஞ்சிரங்குழியில் கிழகரை-

Second face.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| 30 யடி தடி கஉ ⁴ தளத- | 31 பம் ஆக தஉ பஉ- |
| 32 தினால் உ ⁵ அளப | 33 ம் கொடுக்குழி |
| 34 ஆலங்குழியில் | 35 தனிக்குழி இர- |
| 36 ண்டும் அஞ்ச- | 37 னவன்குளத்தி- |
| 38 ல் தனிக்குழி ஒன்- | 39 தும் ஆலடித்- |
| 40 தனிக்குழியில் | 41 தின்று அஞ்சள- |
| 42 வன்கொணம் | 43 உள்ளிட்ட பி- |
| 44 ள்ளையார் நில- | 45 த்துக்கும் தன்- |
| 46 மபத்தா நில- | 47 த்துக்கும் பொ- |
| 48 த்தி உள்ள தன்- | 49 ணீர் பிள்ளையா- |
| 50 ர்க்கு ஒருகூறும | 51 தன்மபத்தாவு- |
| 52 க்கு இருகூறுமா- | 53 க நடப்பிச்சு- |
| 54 க் கொள்ளவும் | 55 காஞ்சினாட்டு |
| 56 அடி கியபாண் | 57 டியபுரத்தா பெ- |
| 58 சியகுளத்தின்- | |

Third face.

- 59 (ங்)கனகமாய் மெஸ்க்கால்ப்-
 60 பெரக்கு பெய்கொட்டு பத்தில்
 61 பிள்ளையார் பெர் மட ஒத்தியும்
 62 சேரரா ஒத்தியும் கொண்டநிலம்
 63 முதல் தடிதடி கஉ உளஉத⁶ தடிதடி
 64 உஉ⁷ ளகூ || உ⁸ தடிதடி கஉ⁹ ரு¹⁰ ள
 65 ச தடிதடி கஉ உத¹¹ || ரு¹² தடிதடி உக கஉ¹³ எ-
 66 ஷெ தடிதடி கஉ¹⁴ உ¹⁵ ஷெ தடி தடி கஉ¹⁶ க-
 67 ரு¹⁷ ள ஆக தடி பஸ்தியில் உ உ ப எத-
 68 || க்கும் ஆக உள்ள நிலங்களுக்கு
 69 எல்லா இறைகளும் இறுத்த இயாவி-
 70 ச்சு பொதுவாராகவும் [1*] இப்படி
 71 இந்த உதக்கூறுவ தன்மதான ப-
 72 ட்டையம் எழுதிக் குடுத்தென்
 73 சிதம்பரம் இனையாவினானென்
 74 சிதம்பர ள்ளையகப்பிள்ளையா-

1 கலையே இருதான்.

2 இருகலம்.

3 கலையே துணர்குதான்.

4 என்னலையே குதான்.

5 இருகலையே இருதான்.

6 The symbols are not understood.

- 75 குக்கு [1*] இப்படிக்கு சிதம்பரம்
 76 இளைய நயினன் எழுத்தது [11*]
 77 பெயொட்டுப்பத்தில் உ யுயாகு.
 78 III க்கு இறை செல் கோ¹ உடுகவு கள்ளி-
 79 யங்காட்டு வகையில் உ² அளப-
 80 க்கு கடமை செல் கோ³ சடுக ஆக வகை
 81 உனல் (ஹ) க-க்கு கோ⁴ எடுகவுல் பிள்-
 82 னையர் பூசைக்கு கோ⁵ அவ நா¹ விசெ-
 83 ஷ பூசைக்கு கோ⁶ மடத்து பண்டார-
 84 த்துக்கு கோ⁷ உடுகவு பாதெசெய்க்கு கோ⁸
 85 உயுடு இ தன்மபத்தாவுக்கு கோ⁹ மெ
 86 கணக்குப்பின்னைக்கு கோ¹⁰ க ஆக
 87 னு க-க்கு சிலவு கோ¹¹ உடுகவு ஸ¹

Fourth face.

- 88 மடத்தில் நம்முடைய
 89 குருக்கள் எழுந்தருளி-
 90 னால் ஒரு நான் பூசை
 91 சிலவு நடப்பிச்சு குடு-
 92 க்கவும் சிதம்பரம்
 93 இளையநயினன் பிறந்த
 94 நான் ஆடி யீ¹ க் சித்திரைக்கு
 95 பாதெசெய்க்கும் நம்மு-
 96 டைய ஊராருக்கும் வைய-
 97 ச்சுட்டுச் சிலவுக்கு (ஹ)
 98 மென² க்கு உடையம் எ-
 99 கெ³ எ இயும் கொண்டு ந-
 100 டப்பிச்சு கொள்வாரா-
 101 கவும் மடத்துக்கு வெண்-
 102 டிம செய்தி நம்முடை-
 103 ய ஊரார் விசாரித்து
 104 கொள்ளவும் இந்த மட-
 105 த்துக்கும் தன்மத்துக்கும்
 106 ஆராமொருவர் அருத்-
 107 த் நினைக்கிறவர் கெங்-
 108 கைக் கரையில் காரா-
 109 க்பசையை கொன்ற மெ-
 110 தாஷமும் ிரம்முத்தி-
 111 தித் தெரஷமும் கை-

1 கோட்டை 33½.

2 நிலம் எண்களினே பதக்குக்கு.

3 கோட்டை 76½.

4 கோட்டை 6 + ½ + ½.

5 கோட்டை 69 + ½ + ½.

6 செல் பரிசைக்கலன்.

7 செல் கோட்டை 7½.

Thus did I, Chidambaram-Ilayyanayinār, write the deed of gift with libation of water to Chidambara-Vināyakappillaiyār. This is the writing of Chidambaram-Ilayyanayinār.

The tax on of land in Peyottupparu is $33\frac{1}{2}$ *kōttai* of paddy, and the tax on 8 *kalam* one *kurūqi* of land in Kalliyāṅgaḍu is 43 *kōttai* of paddy; thus from $76\frac{1}{2}$ *kōttai* of paddy from these two lands was to be given $6 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{3}{16}$ *kōttai* of paddy for the worship of Pillaiyār, 3 *kōttai* of paddy for special worship (to the same god), $13\frac{1}{4}$ *kōttai* of paddy for the *maṭha*-stores, $25\frac{1}{2}$ *kōttai* of paddy for mendicants (*parādēsis*), 12 *kōttai* of paddy to the temple trustees and 9 *kōttai* for the accountant:

—in all, the expenses for one year are $69 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{3}{16}$ *kōttai* of paddy.

If our *guru* should be pleased to visit our *maṭha*, the expenses for one day's worship (to him) shall be met. The expenses of 15 *kalam* required for feeding mendicants and the *ārār* of the village on the day of the Chitrā-nakshatra in the month of Aḍi, the day on which Chidambaram Ilayyanayinār was born, shall also be defrayed from $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kōttai* of paddy provided therefor. The affairs of the *maṭha* shall be looked after by the *ārār* of this village.

Those that contemplate evil towards this *maṭha* and this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges and of killing a brahman. Those that do good to this *maṭha* and this charity shall obtain the merit of one crore of gifts bestowed on (the banks of) the Ganges.

No. 46—Two Tamil Records from Tiruppatisaram.

The subjoined two records are found in the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruppatisāram which is a village in the Tovala taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division and is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* of Vaiṣṇava repute. Only one fragmentary record of this temple dated in Kollam 304 (= A. D. 1129) has been published hitherto. From the fact that the Vaiṣṇava saint Nammālvār has sung about it, it can be stated that the temple must have dated from at least the end of the 8th century A. D., if not earlier, and that the god was known by the name of Tiruvālmāraṇ then, as now.

But it may be remarked that while Nammālvār describes the god as a sitting image of Viṣṇu,

வருவார் செல்வார் வண்பரிசாரத்து இருந்த என்

இருவாழ்மார்வற்கு என் திறம் செல்லார் செய்வதென்—(VIII-3-7),

Pillaipperumāḷ-Ayyaṅgār (12th century A. D.) says that the image was in the recumbent posture of a *sayanamūrti*,

அடியுக்குனிந்தா னறிவுக்குனிந்தான்

மடி கின்றான் மூச்சடங்குமுன்னே—கடிதேடிப்

பெண் பரிசாரங்குப் பிறப்பித்து மீனுவார்

வண்பரிசாரம் கடந்தமாதற்கு—*Nūṟṟeṭṭu-tiruppati-andādi*, v. 60

The 12th century record mentioned above, refers to the god of the temple as

இருப்பதரிசாரத்து வீற்றிருந்தருளிக எம்பெருமான்

and as the present image, a *saudha-mūrti*, is in the same sitting posture, we have to consider that Pillaiapperumāḷ has made a mistake in his description and that the variant reading திருவண்பரிசாரம் மிருத்த மர்த்து is more acceptable. *Māraṇalaṅkāraṁ*¹ has one verse in praise of this image, but it does not discuss its postural detail.

It is noteworthy that while inscriptions mention Tiruppatīsāram (the essence of sacred places) as the name, the Vaiṣṇava works invariably call it as Tiruvaṇ-parisāram.

On the east wall of the first prākāra of the Viṣṇu temple.

Text.¹

- 1 கொல்லம் ளாஅலிகு னுல ஆவணிமாதம் ௨-௮௦ உ அமரபங்கிழந்து சந்த-
- 2 டியும் வென்னியாட்சையும் உசொன்னியும் இன்னொளல் நயினர் திருவா-
முமார்ப நயி-
- 3 னர்க்கு ஆவணிமாதம் திருவொணத்திருஞன் நடக்கும்படிக்கு அக்கா
தெசொகுர . . சம்புராசாய-
- 4 னா நம்பி கணக்காக தெய்வம் திருவொணத்தினுள் மண்டபத்தில் எழு-
ந்தருவிச்சு சிறப்புக்கு அம-
- 5 துபடி உவ ௨ உ பால் பாரிதத்தகூர் அமுதுபடி திருமூழி பாரிதத்துக்-
கும் சிறப்புக்கும் கறியமுதுக்குந் தெய்-
- 6 காய் ௨- பணிமாதவும் பக்கினத்தக்கும் தெய்வமு இலையமுது யிக்கு
- 7 அடைக்காயமுது இ பாரிதத்துக்கு சக்கரை பலம் ௪ திருமுன் விளக்கு
இரண்டுக்கு எண்ணை ளு கை-
- 8 . . . சாமம் ௧ சீபாதந்தாவ்கும் பிராமணர் பெர் ௪ க்கு ௪ உ வித்துவா-
ங்க
- 9 னா(ளாக)க்கு ௪-௬ திருமுன் பந்தத்துக்கும் விளக்கும் ௪ உ திருச்சுறில்
எழுந்த
- 10 குவிச்சால் தெத்தியத்துக்கும் பொரியமுது உஉ சக்கரை பலம் ௧ இலைய-
- 11 முதுலிக்கு அடைக்காய் ௬ சாத்துப்படி பலம் இநயினர் சடையபுர
முன-
- 12 டயலினர்க்கு அமுதுபடி உஉ அம்பலாற்றக்கண்டஞ் சாத்தனுக்கு அ-
- 13 முதுபடி ௨-௨ யும் அம்பை திருப்பதிநவகைக்கு அமுதுபடி ௨ ஆக இந்த-
ப்படி-
- 14 யெ நடக்கும்படி கற்பித்து காராயணம்கு குறித்த ஸாநும இந்-
- 15 த பணம் னாற்றன்பதம் சீபண்டாரத்தில் பற்றிக்கொண்டு இந்-
- 16 தப் பணத்தின் உபையத்துக்கு ஆண்டுநொதும் சீபண்டாரத்தி-

1 பூரித்தெழுந்த புணர் முனைப் பூல்கிடா
வாரித்தானவடநரதாம—கேசிகழையர்
மட்டார் பொழில் வண்பரிசாரம் மாதந்தரூட்-
பட்டாரித்தனவே பண்டு

— verso 549.

2 Registered as No. 63 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1984 n. 2.

- 17 ஸ் தின்தும் நடத்திப்பொதுவாராகவும் இதுவும் தெயான் க.
 18 ணக்காக துறாதெசி ஒன்றுக்கு நமக்காரம் ஒன்றாக மாதம்
 19 ஒன்றுக்கு நமக்காரம் பெர் உக்கு அரிசி உக்கு எ. எ.உரியும் கரியமு-
 து எ. உ.உ.உ.
 20 ஆக இந்தப்படி நடக்கும்மாத கற்பிதது தெயான் கணக்காக சென்-
 டாரத்தில் குடுத்த
 21 ஈமும் இந்தப் பணத்தினுபையத்துக்கு செண்டாரத்தில் தின்தும் நட-
 த்திப் பொதுவா.
 22 ராகவும் [11*].

Translation.

On the 27th day of the month of Āvaṇi in the Kollam year 789 which was a Friday with *saptami-tūthi* of the *amara-paksha* and *Rōhiṇī-nakshatra*, *Śambu-nārayaṇa-Nambi* gave 150 *paṇam* for the conduct of the festival on Tiruvōṇam in the Āvaṇi month to the god Tiruvālmārbaṇ with the following scale of expenditure:—

for *śirāppu* expenses (to the god) when he is pleased to be present in the *maṇḍapa* on the Tiruvōṇam day, one *paḍakku* and six *nāḷi* of rice, for *pāyasam* with milk, two *nāḷi* of rice, for the above and for curry two cocoanuts, for serving and for cakes one *āḷāḷku* of ghee, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, 4 *palam* of sugar for *pāyasam*, one *āḷāḷku* of oil for the two lights in front (of the god), 2 *paṇam* to four brahman-bearers of the image, 3 *paṇam* for paddy seed per year, 2 *paṇam* for torch and light in front of the god, 2 *nāḷi* for fried rice-offering on the occasion of the god's procession in the *surru-maṇḍapam*, sugar one *palam*, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, $\frac{1}{2}$ *palam* of *śāttuppaḍi*, 2 *nāḷi* of rice to the god Śaḍaiyapuramuḍaiya-Nayinār, 2 *nāḷi* of rice to the Śāstā of Ambunārkaṇḍam, and one *nāḷi* of rice to the goddess Tiruppatināṅgai.

This amount of 150 *paṇam* was received into the temple-treasury and the above was agreed to be conducted every year.

The same individual also gave 50 *paṇam* and the *bhaṇḍāra* agreed therefor to feed, at the rate of one man on every *dvādaśi* day, 2 brahmans every month with 3 *nāḷi* of rice and curry for which were given respectively 7 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy and 3 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

No. 47— Tiruppatisaram record of Kollam 961.

This record which is engraved on a slab of stone built into the floor next to the entrance into the first *prākāra* of the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruppatisaram, registers the fact that the paving of the floor with stone flags was accomplished by a private individual, Kuppāṇ-chiṭṭi of the village of Pillaiyārkkōvil, a hamlet of Kalkuḷam in the Kollam year 961.

Text.¹

- 1 உகாசகரிக ஸ்ரீ ஆவணி மீ
- 2 விசுவ ருருவாரமும் அகபதி-
- 3 நட்செத்திரமும் பின்னான்
- 4 திருப்பதிசாச கொயில்
- 5 ஒத்தைக்கல் மண்டபம்
- 6 சன்னிதநடையில் கல்[கு]-
- 7 னம் பிள்ளை யார்கொயில்
- 8 கிராமத்தில் குப்பான் சிட்டி.
- 9 கணக்கா யிட்டு இட்ட தன[ம்].
- 10 ப் பணி திருவாணிமா[ற் ப]-
- 11 ன் சுவாமியை சதாசெர்ன[வ] [11*]

Translation.

On the 13th day of the month of Āvuni in the (Kollam) year 961, which was a Thursday with nakshatra Aśvati, the work of paving the floor in front of the *ottaikkal-maṇḍapa* in the temple at Tirupattisāram, was the service (done) to the god Tiruvālimāra by Kuppān-chitti of Pīlāiyār-kōyil-grāma in Kalkulam.

No. 48—Kulitturai inscription.

This inscription is engraved on a rock in the north side of the Siva temple at Kulitturai. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the Tamil language. It is not dated in any Kollam year, but may, on palaeographical considerations, be assigned roughly to the 15th century A. D. It records an assignment of money and lands by a native of Ayiramanṇam for feeding brahmins.

Text.²

- 1 கர்க்கடக ருரயிற்று அமாவாஸி நாள் நாகமங்க-
- 2 லத்து தெவன் தெவன் பண்பரிக்கண்டமு[ம்*] னம-
- 3 ன் [து]டவலும் அயிரமற்றத்து அக்கிரம்கு³ தெவன-
- 4 ல் ஒற்றிகொண்டு லா. பிராமணர் அமுர்து செய்-
- 5 ததின்னு கல்ப்பிச்சு ஒற்றியோலை இரண்டுமும்⁴ அ-
- 6 ச்சு நாலெகரல் நிலம் முக்குறுணி அயிரமன்றத்-
- 7 து கெசவல் கு[ன்]றறைமெல் டரி அரி செலவின்ன அயிர-
- 8 மன்றத்து பத்தொபன் திருவிக்கிரமன் வென்றும் அ-
- 9 ச்சு அஞ்சு [1*] செறுகுண்டேர் குளகெழுத் கவி ஒபாதிக்கு
- 10 புவழி
- 11 நெல் கால்க்குறுணி பாகொட்டு கெரடவறைமண் புறாய்-
- 12 டமு மதின்கெழு மதின்கீழ் கண்டத்தின் மெது[ம்*] வி-
- 13 ரிச்சிக விளக்கின்னு எண்ணை மகிட அறுநாழி அ-

1 Registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1064 A. D.

2 Registered as No. 26 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 A. D.

3 Perhaps we have to read *விக்கிரமம்*.

4 Read *இரண்டாகும்*.

- 14 ஸ்ரீ காமழி வெற்றிலை அடைக்காய் அறம் மருதநைவ்வ-
 15 ளாகத்தின் மெல் எண்ணை மு[க்ரமழி] அரி காமழி உரி
 16 குழுந் கொண்ணிரத்தறை உழுதி மெல் வடக்கின் தெவர்-
 17 க்கு கிரி[க்*]கிக கினக்கின்னு நல்லெண்ணை மடை பத்திருகா-
 18 ழி திரு அத்தாமு திருவடிக் தின்னு செல் [க]லம்
 19 மருதன் கொட்டு காலறை உழுதிமெல் புவழி தெவர்க்கு செல்
 20 [காமழி புதுமனைப் பகையாடத்தின் மெல் திங்கள வாரம் அ-
 21 ம்பலத்தில் அத்தினிளக்கின்னும் செய் காமழி உரி கடந்தார்கொ-
 22 ட்டின்மெல் கின[நாஸில் கிற] வித்து கடமையால் செல் கலம்
 23 பாதனுரவரன் தெக்கின[டத்து] கழு[ந்]கரைக் [கொ]ட்டின் மெலு-
 24 ட் தெக்கின் தெவர்க்கு கத்தாயினக்கிமர² செய் [காமழி]³
 25 செருப்பாத்தியறை மெல் பத்தனாபன் குட்டன்
 26 வெண்ணு[ம*] அச்சு
 27 உளஉறந்

Translation.

On the day of the new-moon in the month of Karkāṭaka, Vikkīraman-Devan of Āyiramaṇṇam, having obtained on mortgage the fields Paḷaiyarikkapṇam and Ūmantudaval belonging to Dēvaṇ-Devaṇ of Nāgamaṇṇalam, ordered the feeding of 12 brahmins and assigned 4½ *achchu* and 3 *kurun̄i* of land (incorrect for paddy) due on (his) two mortgage deeds. Padmanābhaṇ-Tiruvikkīraman of Āyiramaṇṇam received five *achchu* from (the yield of) Kuṇṇaraimuri of Keśavan of Āyiramaṇṇam for (providing one) *uri* of rice.

Four *kurun̄i* of paddy at each harvest from the land under the tank of Śerukunḍar, the yield from the *puraiyiḍam* of Koḍavaraṇṇam in Pākōḍu as well as from the lands to the west and east of the same are for (the expenses of) six *nāḷi* of oil (as measured) by the *maḍai* for Vriśchika lamps, (one) *nāḷi* of rice, betel leaves, areca-nuts and chunam:

three *nāḷi* of oil and (one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of rice from (the field called) Marudagai-viḷagam: 12 *nāḷi* of gingelly oil (as measured) by the *maḍai* from the field of Koppirattarai in Sūḷūr are for Vriśchika lamps in the northern shrine;

one *kalam* of paddy (from the same) is for the sacred night meal:

(one) *nāḷi* of paddy at each harvest from the field of Kaḷarai in Marudaṇkōḍu (is) for the (same) god;

(one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of ghee from the Pudumaṇṇaippurāyiḍam is for the twilight lamp to be lit on each Monday in the temple;

and (one) *kalam* of paddy given as assessment in kind from
 . . . of Kaḍandāṇkōḍu (is also for the same item).

Pattanābhaṇ-Kuṭṭan of Śeruppādiyaṇai received 225 *achchu* from (the income of) Kamugaraikkōḍu on the southern side, in order to supply (one) *nāḷi* of ghee for burning (one) perpetual lamp in the southern shrine as ordered by the people of Pārālūr.

1 *a* looks like *ṭ*.

2 There is some mistake committed in engraving what looks like *ṭ*.

3 This may also be read as *ṭ* but *ṭ* is the correct reading.

No. 49—Three Chera Coins.

In the Report of the Travancore Archaeological Department for 1920-21, Mr. K. V. Subramanya Ayyar, the Superintendent, has the following note on three copper coins unearthed recently in a village in the Travancore State.—

“Mr. Abraham, Vakil, and Mr. Vurghese, Teacher, brought to me three old copper coins for examination. The coins belong to a heap found deposited in a mud-pot kept underground at Parur near Alangad. The pot was unearthed, I am told, by a farmer, while digging a field. The coins appear to be very old. They bear no legends. While two of them are almost semi-circular, the third is slightly square in shape. The obverse has a standing figure of a tusker facing the right; and a staff tipped with a trident is placed in front of it. The reverse of all the coins bears a lamp-stand or a goad and arrow strung to a bow, the top string of the latter being very visible.”

These coins were taken up by me for closer study and my observations on them are noted below so as to help further examination, if other specimens of the same type should become available on some future occasion.

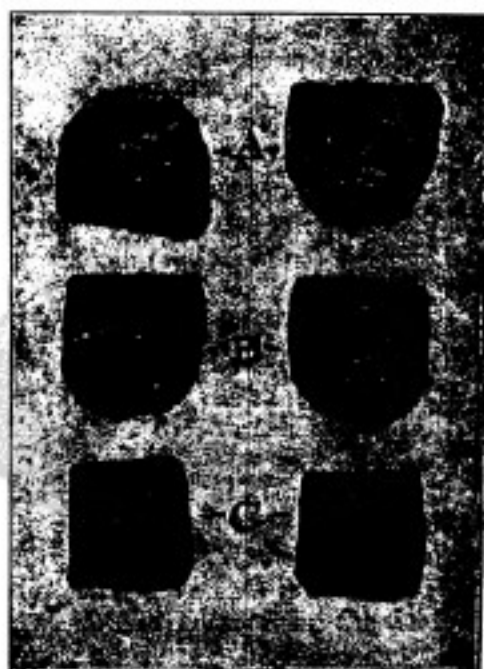
All the three specimens are double-die coins but owing perhaps to the carelessness of the man employed with the punches, the coins do not unfortunately bear the full impress of the dies. The square coin is slightly thicker than the two semi-circular ones. One of the semi-circular type (shown as A) and the square coin (shown as C) have on their obverse a well-executed figure of a standing elephant facing the right and represented in its natural purity of outline, unhampered by any ornamental trappings. In front of it, is placed a flag-staff from the top of which a standard (*dhvaja*) is hanging down with a curling fold at its extremity. In the plain field above the elephant device, the following symbols are figured from left to right:—

- (1) a symbol which consisting of a central dot surrounded by a circle of eight depressions contiguously arranged, may, as in other instances, be taken to represent an expanded lotus;
- (2) a *Svastika* symbol;
- (3) a device similar to that figured on a coin of Janapadaśa (No. II of Plate IV of *Rapson's Coins*), the significance of which has not been explained by that author, but which may be taken to stand for a *vajra*, a *linga* on its pedestal, or better still, a small lighted lamp;
- (4) the Crescent, and
- (5) the Sun.

On the reverse are found:—

- (1) an *aṅkuśa* or elephant goad in the form of a spear of short haft and hooked end;
- (2) a bow of the five-bends type with a metal-tipped arrow strung into position on the bow-string, which is represented as fluttering forward in two spiral strands from the top notch of the bow;
- (3) a *bhadrakhaṭa* or a *pārṇakumbha* and
- (4) an obliterated figure which has a resemblance to the Buddhist *triratna* symbol.

THREE CHERA CINS.



Same figs.

A. S. Ruamatha Apur.

The other coin shown as B on the plate has only the elephant and the flag on its obverse and the absence of the other five symbols, which may either have become defaced or been omitted, would perhaps suggest that this specimen belonged to an earlier type than its companion A.

Presumably owing to its association with royalty and to its forming an important component of the four-fold army of ancient India, the elephant was adopted by more than one dynasty of kings as its numismatic device and we therefore find this royal quadruped represented on the early punch coins,¹ on the coins of the Āndhra,² the Yādava,³ and the Koṅga⁴ dynasties, on the coins and copper-plate seals of the Gaṅgas,⁵ and Vijayanagara kings⁶, on the Mysore issues—both Indian⁷ and Muhammadan,⁸ and on the coins of the Western Punjab and the Kabul valley⁹. The Chēras in particular, had a special partiality for this lord of their own forests, at once the source of their strength and wealth, and this is evidenced by the adoption by some of the kings of this dynasty of certain distinguishing epithets connected with this quadruped. The bow and arrow was also their special device and they were called in consequence the *villavar*. The presence therefore of the elephant on the obverse and the bow and arrow on the reverse distinctly suggests that the coins under review must be of Chēra origin and, according to Rapson,¹⁰ of a period anterior to 1090 A. D; but in the absence of any elucidatory legends on the coins themselves, their age cannot be fixed with any tolerable accuracy, unless helped by further data from future finds. The general appearance and style of the coins would, however, suggest their being dated one or two centuries earlier than the later limit noted above, and may have been the forerunners of the coins mentioned in para 5 below.

The symbols figured on the coins deserve some notice. The elephant (an emblem of royalty), the lotus¹¹ (the Indian traditional symbol of mysterious birth) and the *svastika*¹² (the philosophical symbol of evolution) are among the eight objects of auspiciousness¹³. The crescent and the sun are generally figured on the tops of copper-plate and lithic inscriptions as emblems of permanence and are cited as eternal witnesses of mundane affairs in the expressions '*āchandrārkam*' and '*chandrādityar-ullavarai*'. Their introduction on Chēra coins has perhaps the

1 Nos. 4 and 6 on Plate I of Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*.

2 No. 43 on Plate II, *Ibid*.

3 No. 92 on Plate III; *Ibid*.

4 Nos. 118 and 119, *Ibid*.

5 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX. p. 304.

6 No. 117 on Plate III, of *E. C. S. I.*

7 Henderson's *Coins of Haidar and Tipu*.

8 Nos. 1 and 2 on Plate III, of Rapson's *Coins of Southern India*.

9 Rapson, p. 36.

10 *A Guide to Sanchi*, page 41.

11 Havell's *Architecture of India*, page 17.

12 There are different lists, but the following verse is from the *Nivāḥaṇṭam*:

பாத்தொலியுமும் கைம்பொற் கண்ணடி பதாக்க தோட்டி

கிரித்திருவ்யோகு செம்பொற் கிணக்கு வென்றாகும் பஞ்

காத்தவென்றமதையர் லுத்த கதிர்கொண்டு தொகுத்தபொதும்

பொகுத்த பொற்கிரிப்பெய்க்குத புணர்வயல் பொத்தவந்தே—*Andaruvattaiyār*, v. 137.

additional significance, if such was intended, of suggesting the Chēra's descent from the Chandrādityakula,¹ the luni-solar race. The *arikuśa*² (Tamil-*iōṭṭi*) 'a sign of authority and of selective discrimination' occurs in company with the other items of royal paraphernalia such as a pair of chowries and a state-umbrella in the seals of many copper-plate grants. The *pūrṇakumbha* or the *amṛitakalāśa*, a vessel of consecrated water with a bunch of green mango leaves inserted into its mouth, is one of the auspicious signs of plenty and prosperity and is generally found flanked by a pair of lighted lamps. It occurs in this combination in the seal of the Koḍḍūr plate³ of the Gaṅga king Mārasimha.

We know that a coin called the '*āṇai-achchu*' which, as its name implies, was a die-struck coin stamped with an elephant's figure,⁴ was current both in the Koṅgu-maṇḍalam⁵ and in the West Coast in the 12th and 13th centuries; but there is reason to believe that it must have been of a far higher denomination than the small copper coins under reference and that it must have been also of more precious metal than copper. It is also understood that it superseded another coin called the '*śiriyakki-achchu*' of an older system of currency, which had the figure of a *yakshī* embossed on it and whose design was perhaps influenced by Ceylon issues. *Unḍi-achchu* and *amudaṇ-achchu* were two other coins current at that time; but their relative values are not ascertainable, except that the later was a golden coin and that 53 of the former was the annual interest on 707 *āṇai-achchu*, but as the rate of interest per cent has not been mentioned, it is not possible to ascertain their relative values.

No. 50.—Copper-plate record of Kollam 925.

The subjoined copper-plate record is kept in the Palace Chellamvagai at Trivandrum and purports to be the deed relating to the sale of some lands in Puliyanturuttu by Kumaraṇ-Śrīkanṭhan Tirumūlpāḍ of Maññaḍu to DavidaiKKel Paradeśi. In another copy of the same document written on cadjan in the Malayalam characters and found among the *ōlai* bundles in the same place, the purchaser is stated to have been a resident of Cochin (*koṇchhiyil-kuḍi-irikkum*). In either case, it is not known why the document should have found its way into the Palace records, and to what nationality the purchaser belonged. Dāvida may be phonetically equivalent perhaps to David.

The language and script of the record are Malayalam; and it is noticeable that the verbs have not discarded their personal suffixes as in modern Malayalam; cf. *koṇḍāṇ* in l. 8.

1 *Madras Epig. Report* for 1910, page 59.

2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, page 294.

3 Plate X of the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1921.

4 Cf. the *āṇai-paisa* of Mysore-Elliot's *Coins*, page 105.

5 *Madras Epigraphical Reports* for 1912 and 1916 and *Trav. Arch. Series*, Part I, Vol. III.

COPPER PLATE DATED KOLLAM 925.

1
21
31
41
51

1. നോട്ടം നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു പത്തുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു
 2. 925-ൽ നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു
 3. 925-ൽ നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു
 4. 925-ൽ നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു
 5. 925-ൽ നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു



3
5
7
9
11

1. നോട്ടം നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു പത്തുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു
 2. 925-ൽ നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു
 3. 925-ൽ നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു
 4. 925-ൽ നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു
 5. 925-ൽ നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു നാലുവർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞു

A. S. Rameswathi Aggar

Scale: one-half

Text.

First side.

- 1 കൊല്ലം നൂറുവരികൾ ചിങ്ങത്തൊഴിയിൽ എഴുതിയ അട്ടിപ്പൊറവാക്കര-
ണമാവിത [4th] 2 [3rd] അടുത്ത കരയ്ക്കു ചിരികളെ- തിരുമുൽപാട്ടിൽ
കെ-
- 2 വരിൽ കാര്യത്തിലൊക്കെ പലിയത്തുതരിൽ എഴുത്തുകാരെ-
ത്തൊട്ടിനും തുരുത്തുവെള്ളിക്കും പടി-

Second side;

- 3 തൊട്ട വടക്കെപുഴ തെക്കൊട്ട പട്ടിത്തൊട്ടെപ്പുഴ കിഴക്കൊട്ട ചാ-
ത്തൊട്ടത്തെ തൊട്ടിന്ന വ-
- 4 തൊട്ട ഇന്നാലതിക്കത്തകപ്പെട്ട അട്ടിപ്പൊറത്തവും വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ട
അട്ടിപ്പൊറാക്ക എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്തിത കെ-
- 5 വരികാരിയത്തിന്ന അമ്മാക്കമ കൊവിൽ കാര്യത്തിലൊക്കെ പലിയത്തു
തരിൽ എഴുത്തുകാരെ-
ത്തൊട്ടിനും തുരുത്തുവെള്ളിക്കും പടിത്തൊട്ട വടക്കെപുഴ തെ-
ക്കൊട്ട പട്ടിത്തൊട്ടെപ്പുഴ
- 6 കിഴക്കൊട്ട ചാത്തൊട്ടത്തെ തൊട്ടിന്ന വടക്കൊട്ട ഇന്നാലതിക്കത്തകപ്പെട്ട
അട്ടിപ്പൊറത്തവും
- 7 കൊടുത്ത അട്ടിപ്പൊറാക്ക എഴുതിച്ച കൊണ്ടാൻ മാവിതത്തൊട്ടെപ്പുഴ
ഇമ്മാക്കമ ഇന്നാ-
- 8 ലതിക്കത്തകപ്പെട്ട കൽ കര കാര്യത്തിലൊക്കെയും മുൾ-മുൾ മുൾപ്പുരവും
നെല്ല നീര നിധി മാംപെട്ടം ക-
- 9 റട്ടം മീമ്പെട്ടം തുറയും തെൻപെട്ടം ചൊലയും ആരൊപാകം വഴിയും
നീർപൊകം കാലം ആറും
- 10 വയ്പ്പും അരിയും പരമ്പും അറ താ കിണറാകാല പാത്താവും ഇന്നാല
തിക്കകപ്പെട്ട തെപ്പെപ്പുഴ-

First side (contd).

- 12 ഈ കൂടി അട്ടിപ്പൊറത്തവും വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ട അട്ടിപ്പൊറാക്ക എഴുതിക്കൊ-
ടുത്തിത കൊവിൽക്കാരിയത്തി-
- 13 ന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമ ഇന്നാലതിക്കത്തകപ്പെട്ട കൽ കര കാര്യത്തിലൊക്കെയും

മുറം മുരട മുക്കപ്പത്തും നെല്ലു നീര നി-

- 14 ഡി മൺപെട്ടം കാട്ടം മീൻപെട്ടം ഇറയ്ക്കം തെൻപെട്ടം ചൊലയ്ക്കം ആരം
പൊക്കം വഴിയും നീർപൊക്കം കാലും
- 15 അതിരും വരമ്പും ആറുവയ്പും അറ തറ കിണറാകാല പാതാളവും
ഇന്നാലതിൽക്കത്തകപ്പെട്ട തെപ്പെപ്പെട്ടതും
- 16 കൂടി അട്ടിപ്പെറാകെ എഴുതിച്ചു കൊണ്ടാൻ ഭാവിതളക്കൈൽ[പരക്കെരി*] [11*]
ഇപ്പരിചെ എഴുതിക്കൊ-
- 17 അമെയിക്കം ഇത കാവുകെൽ പറയത്ത ഉണ്ണി ചിതകണ്ടൻ കയ്യുട-
ത്ത [11*]

Translation.

This is the title-deed given with libation of water in the Simha month of the Kollam year 925.

For the lands in Puliyanuruttu within the four boundaries:— to the west of the garden below the Elan̄ni and Turutturapalli, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden of Sattōdu—which were under the management of Kumaraṇ-Sirikaṇḍan Tirumūlpād of Maṇṇādu, the purchase money was received and the lands were given as *aṭṭippēru* (with libation of water).

Thus for these lands in Puliyanuruttu within the four boundaries— to the west of the garden behind Elan̄ni and Turutturapalli, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden in Sattōdu—the purchase money was paid by and the title-deed was drawn up for Dāvida-ikkēl-paradēsi. In this manner, the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel-beds, river deposits, boundary limits and ridges, buildings, field sites, wells, and all that exist above and below the ground surface: for all these items within the four boundaries, the purchase money was received and the freehold title-deed was drawn up and given.

In this manner for the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel-beds, boundary limits and field-ridges, river deposits, buildings, wells and all that exist above and below the ground surface within these four boundaries, the title-deed was drawn up and obtained by Dāvida-ikkēl-paradēsi.

This is the signature of Uṇṇi-Srīkaṇḍan of Kāvūṅgal-paṅambu (as witness) for writing this deed in this manner.

No. 51—Ilamba record of Vira Marttanda Ravivarman: Kollam 781.

The subjoined record which is engraved on the west base of the *mandapa* in front of the Śiva temple at Ilamba is in the Malayalam script and language. It is dated in the Kollam year 781 in the reign of the king Vira Mārttāṇḍa Ravivarman Tiruvāḍi, and relates to the construction of certain additional buildings to the new temple at Ilamba.

Text.

- 1 ഇളവൈ പുതിയകോയിക്കൽ ശ്രീവീരമാർത്താണ്
- 2 ഇരവിവർ തിരുവടിക്കുമെന്ത കൊയിക്ക-
- 3 തിരകൾ ചെയ്യിച്ചു തിരുപ്പണി നെയ്യമ മാണ്ട
- 4 ഇടവമാസത്തിൽ തുടങ്ങി തളവും ചുവരും മ-
- 5 ഞ്ചെയും പണിചെയ്യിച്ചു [ശ്രീ]യന്മാരാണ് കലശ്ശ[11].

Translation.

The works which were added to the new temple at Ilamba by the officers of the king Śrī Viramarttāṇḍa Ravivarman Tiruvāḍi in charge of the temple, namely, the paving, walls and the *mandapa* which were commenced in the Rishabha month of the (Kollam) year 781, were completed and the consecration ceremony was in the year [78]3.

No. 52—Other pillar labels in the same temple.

The four inscriptions noted below are engraved on the pillars in the *nāl-umbalam* of the Śiva temple in the same village of Ilamba; and though they are not important mentioning, as they do, the names of the donors of the particular pillars, they have been published here with a view to bring together all readable records, both ancient and modern. The alphabet of the inscriptions is Malayalam in the first three instances and Tamil in the case of the fourth.

A.

- 1 വരിശ്ശേപ-
- 2 പി ഇരവിവർ
- 3 പിള്ള ചെയ്തി
- 4 ചിറ്റു തുണ

B.

- 1 നാണി
- 2 ചെലവര
- 3 റയപ്പി-
- 4 ജി. ചെല-
- 5 യിറ്റു തുണ

1 Registered as No. 123 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1896 A. D.

A, B, C, D.—Registered as Nos. 124 to 127 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1896 A. D.

C.	D.
1 നവരക-	1 അ. 2. 3
2 തു. ച. 1-	2 മു. 3. 4
3 ക. 2. 3. 4-	3 ക. 2. 3. 4
4 ച. 2. 3. 4-	4 ക. 2. 3. 4
5 യി. 2. 3. 4	5 പ. 2. 3. 4
	6 2. 3. 4

No. 53—Suchindrum Plate of Kollam 621.

The subjoined inscription is engraved in Tamil characters on both sides of a single sheet of copper-plate, measuring $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$, which had owing to its thinness got broken at a third of its length and has now been joined together by small rivets. The original is understood to be in the possession of a private individual at Suchindram employed as a temple official; but the record is edited here from an ink-impression of it preserved in this office.

It is dated in both the Śaka and Kollam eras and as the Kollam year is clearly indicated as 621 which corresponded to the cyclic year Raktāksha (given incorrectly in the record as *Raktācha*), the Śaka equivalent ought to have been 1367, which is wrongly entered as 137. The engraving is slovenly and the alphabet appears to be somewhat later than the first half of the 15th century A. D. The astronomical details give the English date A. D. 1444, October 3; but the week-day was Saturday and not Monday as noted in the record.

Among the orthographic peculiarities may be mentioned the incorrect use of *r* in places requiring only its softer equivalent, the transformation of Sanskrit words into vulgar Tamil forms such as *āṭchandira* for *āchandra*, *Raktācha* for *Raktāksha*, *detṣanāyina* for *dakṣināyana* etc. In the last two lines at the end of the plate the '*eḷuttu*' has been written in a degenerated Vaṭṭeḷuttu script, which was apparently the futile attempt of the engraver who was not conversant with that alphabet. The repetition of that word seven times probably shows that there were seven *sthānattārs* to the temple, whose individual signatures the several *eḷuttu* were intended to represent.

The object of the record was to register the fact that certain *yōgippara-dēsis* or religious mendicants were appointed to the office of *āṇavāl* of the temple at Suchindram. '*Āṇavāl*' (or *āṇavāl*, *āṇavāl* as noted in this record) is the name now given to brahman managers of temples. The personal attendants of the Rajas

1. This word occurs in a record of Bhūtappāṇḍi in the sense of a subordinate official. It has probably to be derived from *āṇai* (skt. *āṇa*). *Āṇam* and *āṇati* (skt. *āṇati*) occur in Huzar Office plates of Karunādāṭṭakkaṇ. *Āṇavāl* is divisible into *āṇai* + *vāl* and may be analogous to the suffix in *vālavāl* and *vālēkai-vāl* of records. *Āṇavāl* occurs in Telugu records, where it means 'evidence or credentials'.

who are generally of the brahman caste are also called *āṇavāḷ*—*agattu-āṇavāḷ* and *puṇattu-āṇavāḷ* according to the place of their service, in the king's antechamber or outside. In the present record, the *yōgipparadēśis* who were apparently Śūdras appear to have been entrusted with specific duties such as the conduct of certain temple festivals from some revenue collected on the temple lands. The introduction of some slightly supernatural element in the document, namely that the orders emanated from the god Suchindramuḍaiya-Nayinār and Ten-Tiruvēṅgaḍa-Emberuṇāṇ:—

‘சசித்திரமுடைய நயினார் இருமுகிலடியில் அனுக்கிரகமானகாலத்து’

and ‘பதிப்பிச்சுக் குடுக்கும்படிக்கு தென்திருவேங்கடவிண்ணவர் எம்பெருமான் அனுக்கிரகமானபடிக்கு’—

as well as the more modern appearance of the letters tempt one to question the correctness of the alleged age of the plate. No king's name is mentioned in the record. This record is not found copied on the rock in the temple.

Text.¹

First side.

- 1 சகரத்தம் [௩௩-௩] [௧௫] என் மெல்ல செல்லாநின்ற தனுஷ்யாழம் மிதி
ணர்சனி கொல்லம் உய[௨]கே இலம் [தற்] தீட்ச இல தெட்ச.
- 2 னாயினமான அல்பசி [௨] [௨] செரமவாரமும் புணர்யூசுநட்செத்திரமும்
திதி பூறுவபட்ச்சத்து சத்தியும் சித்திரத்திய நாமயோகமும் ஆ-
- 3 னைகரணமு[௨] பெற்ற ஏன் னது பகல் செ நாளிகையில் தனுராசி செ
த்தில் நயினார் சசித்திரமுடைய நயினார் ஆட்செந்திரகால-
- 4 மும் ஆள்கொண்டபொசிப்பாதெசிகள் பெர் உடுக-ம் ஆனைவானாகக்
கண்டுகொள்ளுமபடிக்கு நயினார் சசித்திரமுடைய நயினார் திரு-
- 5 மூங்கிலடியில் அனுக்கிரகமான காலத்திலுக்கத் அடிமைகள் யொகிப்பா
தெசிகளென்று செம்பிலுஞ் சிலையிலும் திருவறையிலும்
- 6 காணும்படிக்கு ஆட்செந்திரகாலமும் கைப்பக்கொண்டு நயினார் சசித்திரமு
டைய நயினார் கொயிலுக்கு நயினார் தெசமாயிட்டி
- 7 உள்ளதுக் கெல்லாந் கெழ்விபு மாச்சினையுமாக து-ம் பணமும் பிரி
ப்பிச்சு நயினாருடைய அடியெந்தாமெல்லாம் நடத்தும்-

Second side.

- 8 படிக்கு இருவாரமும் அடச்சின காரணம் திலம் உடுக-ம் படிக்கு உ-
கொட்டை இருபத்துமூணும் ஆட்டய்செஷமாக விசெ-
- 9 ஷத்தில்த் தானத்துக்கு அநக்க படித்தரமும் மென்மெலும் அடியெந்தி-
ரம் பொலெ காரணம் அநிகமும் பதிப்பிச்சுக் குடுக்கும்படிக்கு
- 10 தென்திருவேங்கடவிண்ணவர் எம்பெருமான் அனுக்கிரகமானபடிக்கு நயி
னார் சசித்திரமுடைய நயினார் கொயிலுக்கு
- 11 யொகிப்பாதெசிகள் பெர் உடுக-ம் ஆட்செந்திரகாலமும் ஆனைவாழாக
நடக்குமபடிக்கு செம்பிலுஞ் சிலையிலும் வெட்டி-

1 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1898 n. r.

2 The week-day is found to be Saturday and not Monday in the *Epigraphia*.

- 12 ப்ரிச்சக் குடுத்தொம் கயிலார் கசீந்திரமுடைய கயிலார் கொயிலுக் குகத்த
தானத்தாரகன் ஹிதூ
13 எழுத்து எழுத்து எழுத்து ஹிதூ எழுத்து எழுத்து
14 செ ணக்கு தாணுமாயைப்பெருமான் திருவெங்கடம் எழுத்து [11*]

Translation.

On the 5th day of the month of Alpasi of Raktāsha (Raktīcha) corresponding to the Kollam year 621 which was current after Śaka 13[6*]7 had expired and in which year Jupiter was in Dhanus and Saturn in Mithuna—on this day, which was a Monday with the saptami-tithi of the first fortnight, nakshatra Punarpūṣam, siddhinityanāma-yōgam and ānaikkaraṇam, at 14-nāligai midnoon at the time of Dhanu-rāṣi:—

the god SuchIndramudaiya-Nayinār having been pleased, at the foot of the sacred bamboo (*tirumūṅgil*), to order the appointment of the twenty-three *Āṭkonḍa-yōgipparadēsis* as *āṇaiṇāḷ* (of the temple) so long as the moon endures, it was accepted to last as long as the moon and this fact was made public (by being engraved) on copper, stone, and on the sacred rock.

Having collected 1000 *paṇam* by *kēḷvi* and *āchchīṇai* on all lands belonging to the temple of SuchIndramudaiya-Nayinār, and Ten-tiruvēṅgaḍa-vinnavar Emberumāṇ also having been pleased to order that the *kārāṇmai* on certain lands which was 23 *kōṭṭai* of 21 (*marakkāl*) was to be utilised for the festivals, the *kārāṇmai* being increased proportionately to the expenditure of the festivals, we, the selected *tāṇattār* of the temple of Nayinār SuchIndramudaiya-Nayinār had the fact engraved on copper and stone, that the 23 *yōgipparadēsis* were appointed as the *āṇaiṇāḷ* of the temple as long as the moon.

These are our signatures. This is the writing of the accountant Tāṇu-māliayaperumāḷ Tiruvēṅgaḍam.

No. 54—Inscription of Parthivapuram.

The subjoined inscription in Vaṭṭeḷuttu is engraved on the base of the *surru-maṇḍapa* (outside) at the proper left of the entrance into the Vishṇu temple at Parthivapuram. It is incomplete and seems to register gift of land for maintaining Vriśchika lamps in the temple, ordered to be put up by Kāman-Taḍakkaṇ, a native of Kuṇṇattūr. The temple at Parthivaśekharaapuram was, as we know, constructed by Karunandadaḍakkan, an Āy chief ruling over the eastern hilly region of the Travancore State. It is noteworthy that the donor in the present record is named Taḍakkaṇ and not as Aḍakkaṇ. It cannot be stated whether this individual who made a gift of lands to the temple at Parthivaśekharaapuram, was himself in any way connected with the Āy family.

1 The words *āṇaiṇāḷ* which are repeated five times in this line are in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script.

2 Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, p. 7.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்வஸி ஸ்ரீ [1²] இடபத்திலி விபாழ நின்ற யாண்டு குன்றத்துர் காமத் த
டக்கன் பார்த்திவசெகரபுரத்து தெவர்க்கு
2 அட்டிய மிருச்சிய² விளக்குக்கு எருத்தி[லு] மன்னென்ற தொட்டமும்
புனுவரை தடிவிரண்டும் உதிக்கால்மண்க்காட்டும் குலக்குடிப்பழ³

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year in which Jupiter stood in Rishabha, Kāman-
Taḍakkaṇ of Kuṇṇattār (ordered to be) put up (in the temple) of Pārthivaśekhara-
purattu-dēva, *śrīśchika* lamps; and for (them) the garden called Erukkilaiman
together with two *taḍi* of Puṇāvārai as well as Udikkālmankōḍu

Tirukkadittanam Records.

Tirukkadittanam which is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* sacred to Vishṇu in Malai-maṇḍalam, is a village two miles to the east of Chenganacheri, a taluk-station of the Travancore State. The god of the temple has been glorified in a hymn of Nammālvār, who has also commemorated the adjacent Vishṇu temples of Tiruvalla, Tiruvānvaṇḍūr, etc. The *Māraṇalankāram*¹ of Tirukkurukaippirāṇ and the *Nūṟṟeṭṭu-tiruppaṭi-antādi*² of Pillaipperumāi Ayyangār have also one verse each in praise of this place. The temple which dates itself epigraphically from the time of the Chēra king Bhāskari-Ravivarman *i. e.* from the closing years of the 10th century, must have existed, though not necessarily in its present form, much earlier from the beginning of the 9th century at least, as it was visited by Nammālvār. The village has been described in the *Tiruvāḍymōḻi* as surrounded by brahman habitations resounding with the hum of the Vedic chants, but there are no other details in that decade of verses which are of historical value. It is worth noting that, while all these authorities call the village by the name of

1 Registered as No. 78 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1087 M. E.

2 Read கிருச்சிய.

3 The inscription is incomplete.

4 மண்டாரமுதற்கன் மழைதழை வான் பொருள்வாழ
வண்டாக நீ குறித்ததொப்பென்று—வண்டர்
மருத்தே பெறப் புத்தமால் கடித்தானத்தா
விருத்தே நிறத்தேநிதந்து.

—*Māraṇalankāram*, v. 523.

5 காண்கிறும்புமென்கண் கையுத்தொழுகிறும்பும்
பூண்கிறும்புமென்ற புன்றிதான்—காணன்
நிறக்கடித்தானத்தானநிலையான்மண்டான்
நிறக்கடித்தானத்தானச் சொந்து.

—*Nūṟṟeṭṭu-Tiruppaṭi-antādi*, v. 72.

Tirukkāḍittānam, the *Kēraḷolppatti* and the *Uṇṇūḷisandētam*¹ give it the denomination of Trikkōḍittānam.

Several records of the temple belong to the reign of Bhāskara-Ravivarman, the last of the line of Chēra kings who wielded suzerain authority over the petty chieftancies of Malai-maṇḍalam and four of them have been published in Volume II of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*². But three of these have had to be re-edited now, as they have not been given in full in that volume and only their first lines have been published.

No. 55—Tirukkāḍittānam record of Ravi-Rama.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the walls of the central shrine at Tirukkāḍittānam and is dated in the year opposite the second year of king Ravi-Rāman. It is in the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet of about the time of the Chēra king Bhāskari-Ravivarman and is in the Tamil language which is but sparingly adulterated by an admixture of the usual Malayalam forms of words, the few instances occurring in it being—*vāḷṇṇa*, *vāḷunna*, *irunna*, *amaichcha*, *ammiṇṇa*, *olṇṇa*, *pāḍu-tāṇṇuvidu*, *kaḷaṇṇu*, *nikkinnṇu*, *eḷudichchidu*, *viṭṭichchu*, which are used for the correcter Tamil words *vāḷuṇṇa*, *vāḷinda*, *irunda*, *amaitta*, *amainda*, *olinda*, *pāḍu-tāṇṇuvadu*, *kaḷaṇju*, *nikkium*, *eḷudivittadu* and *viḍuvittu*. It may be noticed that almost all of them are instances of surds changed into nasal equivalents, which was a common device used in the evolution of the Malayalam dialect. Grantha letters have been used only in a few cases: *svasti sri* at the beginning and the end of the inscription, *bhai* in *sabhai*, *sa* in *dēsakālam* in (l. 2) and *śabda* in *pañchamāśabdam* (l. 2).

Nīrāṭṭupallī is the god's bath, *pallī* being (according to Gundert) an honorific suffix to *nīrāṭṭu*=bath, when referring to the sacred bath of the god or of the king. *Nīrāṭṭupallī* might also mean the *abhishēka-maṇḍapa* (*pallī* signifying a room), but the use of the word in the present record and in other inscriptions makes the former meaning more appropriate. Provision was made in this temple for the sounding of the *pañchamahāśabda* at the time of the god's bath, akin to a similar provision made in the Tiruvalla plates,³ where the five musical instruments, *jeṇḍai*, *ṇimilai*, *śēgaṇḍi*, *kaṭṭālam* and *kālam* have been mentioned. The Huzur office plates of Karunandaḍakkai however give another list of five instruments: *tattāḷi*, *maddaḷi*, *kaṇṇigai*, *tālam* and *kākaalam*.

Koṭṭādu-puḷḷippaḍil is an expression which may be taken to mean here 'if the sounding is rendered nought', *puḷḷi* being a cipher in arithmetic. Or it may also suggest that a mark was entered in the temple register against the names of the defaulters (*puḷḷi*=a mark, an entry) for the purpose of levying appropriate

1 ഭാഷാഭൂമി ചെറുനീലയമ്പൽക്കാട് തിരുക്കാട്ടിത്തനം.
നക്കാട്കുന്ന് ചെറുനീലയമ്പൽ തിരുക്കാട്ടിത്തനം

= *Uṇṇūḷisandētam*, x. 126.

2 T. A. S., Vol. II pp. 33, 36, 40 and 41.

finer from them; and *pullippattavar* and *pullippatta-nel* (l. 2) will then mean, 'those against whom entries (of absence) had been made' and 'the paddy payable according to the default-entries'.

Pattāyam is a corn-chest. Gundert gives the meaning 'a large chest to keep rice', while Winslow also explains it similarly; but both seem however to suggest that the wording is of Portuguese origin. The use of the word in the present early record shows that it is an indigenous word. *Pattāyappura* and *pattāyakkeṭṭu* also mean the place where the corn-bins are kept standing. In the present record, a wooden granary which was the property of the temple and which had been kept at the disposal of the drummers for storing their grain was ordered to be got back from them in case they proved to be defaulters.

The title of *Nāyar*, the honorific plural of the word *Nāyan* (Skt. *nāyaka*) has been used here to denote the ruler of the district—*nāḍuvāḷḷanna-nāyar* (l. 3).

The object of the inscription is to record the arrangements made for the sounding of the five great sounds (*pañcamāśabdam*) in the temple of Bhaṭṭāra at Tirukkadittanam, for which service certain lands were given by Sennan-Tāyan of Teñchēri, who was the examiner or auditor of the temple accounts. The conditions and regulations relating to the proper conduct of the service were fixed by the *ār*, *pariḍai* and *sabbai* of the village which met in the temple under the presidency of Iyakkaṇ-Śrīkanṭhaṇ of Maṇalmaṇṇam, who was the governor of Naṇḍulai-nāḍu at the time. The penalty for the non-observance of the rules was fixed at varying grades of fines diminishing in geometrical progression:

100 *kaḷañju* of gold to the king (*perumāṇḍigaḷ*)

50 *kaḷañju* to the governor of the district (*nāḍuvāḷḷumavaṇ*) and

25 *kaḷañju* to the officer in immediate charge of the village (*vāḷkkai-vāḷumavaṇ* namely, the *deṭṭavāḷi*)

That the temple must have had worship conducted in it for more than three times daily is evident from the fact that the absence of the *śrībali*-servants for three times during a day was visited with a fine of a quantity of paddy, whereas similar failure for the whole day was liable to a separate and perhaps a greater penalty. As in the Tiruvalla plates, the fines levied from the delinquent drummers were ordered to be paid to the *kīḷṣānti* in this case also.

It is a point worthy of note that the temple servants (*paṇimakkal*) were authorised to set right any difficulties arising in the conduct of the service and if it was beyond settlement among themselves, the *ārāḷar* were to be called in for a decision. If, however, in the opinion of the servants any member of the *ārāḷar* was considered to be swayed by any prejudice or ill-feeling, the difficulties were to be solved in the immediate presence of the ruler of the district and the representatives of the *mupparruvar*-assembly (of Naṇḍulai-nāḍu).

The lands intended for this service were also restricted from being either mortgaged or disposed of by sale.

The king Ravi-Rāmaṇ in whose third year (the year opposite the second year of reign), the record is dated is not identifiable; but on palaeographical

grounds, the record can be attributed to the 11th century and may be considered posterior to the time of Bhāskara-Ravivarma. As the date of accession and the length of reign of the latter have not been *definitely* ascertained, it cannot be said whether Ravi-Rāmapa was his actual successor, though it is not improbable. Between Bhāskara-Ravi (A. D. 978-1036) and Kulaśekhara of the Quilon record (A. D. 1102) there is a gap of half a century.

In the Tripapittura temple in the Cochin State is found a lithic record dated in the 30th year of reign of king Kōḍai-Ravi, and Ravi-Ādiccheṇa, presumably a royal personage, is also mentioned therein. This record is also palaeographically attributable to the 12th century A. D., but one cannot say if the Ravi-Rāmapa of the Tirukkaṭittanṇam record was connected with either of them.

On the west, south and east bases of the central shrine.

Text.¹

1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11*] கோ இரவிஇராமனுக்கு செல்லாதின்ற யாண்டாண்டு. இ
தின் நெதிராமாண்டு மினத்தில் விபாழர் நின்ற கர்க்கட்களுயிற்று
திருக்கடித்தான் தாராகும் பரையாரும் சபையாரும் நன்று[11]மு
நாடு வாழின்ற மணல்மன்றத் திப்க்கு சிரிகண்டனும் இவகள் மு
க்கால்வட்டத்து அகிரோத[11*] தால்க் கூடிச் செய்த காரியமாவது
[11*] பட்டாராடைய பண்டாரம் கெட்ட தென்செரிச் செந்நக் தாய
னுடைய இடையிடும் அவன் குடி இருந்த புரையிடமு ஞாறல்வெளிக
ரியும் ஸட்டக்கரியும் பரிற்றாட்டியாகின்ற நிலத்தில் இவன்னுள்ள க
ளும் தென்வாய்ப் பரிக்கண்டத்தில்² அவன்னுள்ள பட்டாரமும் இச்
சொன்ன நிலமும் புரையிடமும் தென்செரிச் செந்நக் தாயனுடைய
பிடைவி டித்தனையும் மற்றும் பினுள்ளதெல்லாம் உள்ளொடுக்க ண
ரும் பரடையும் ஸுணையும் இவகள் திருவுள்ளம் அகிரோதமாக்கி உ
ள்ளிருந்து நன்றுழை நாடு வாழின்ற மணல்மன்றத் திப்க்கன் ஸ்ரீக
ண்டன்

2 பஞ்சமாஸுஷா³ அமைச்சான் அமைச்ச பரிசுவது [11*] நிராட்டுபள்ளி
க்கு அய்வர் கொட்டுவது [11*] திருப்பிக்கு நால்வர் கொட்டுகிது
[11*] கொட்டாது புள்ளிப்படிப்ப பட்டவர் முந்நாழி நாழியால் இருநா
ழிச் செய்துநெல் தண்டயிடுகிது [11*] முந்துதென்காலமும் முட்டு
கில் இவ்வொபாதியால் எந்ந நெல் கொடுத்த கொட்டுகிது [11*]
ஒரு நாள் தெகிய முட்டுகில் இடக்கழியால் நாழி எண்ணை திருமெனி
மெகாட்டுகிது [11*] ஆட்டின எண்ணையில்ப் பாதியும் புள்ளிப்பட்ட
நெல்லும் கிழச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவன் கொள்கிது [11*] மத்தொழிஞ்ஞ
எண்ணை திருக்கொகிதுடையார் கொள்கிது [11*] இப்பணி செய்

1 Registered as Nos. 90 of 1086 and 12 of 1097 of the Trav. Epig. Colln.

2 Probably பரிக்கண்டத்தில்.

3 Read 'பஞ்சமாஸுஷா'—the five great sounds viz., *jeṇṇai*, *timilai*, *ṣṣṣṣai*, *ṭaitṭai* and *kuṭam*, compare the Tiruvalla plates, I. 352-3.

1a [Illegible text] 2a
3a [Illegible text]

1b [Illegible text] 2b
3b [Illegible text]

1c [Illegible text] 2c
3c [Illegible text]

1d [Illegible text] 2d
3d [Illegible text]

வான் அமைஞ்ஞ பணிமக்கள் அடுத்து முன்றுநான் முட்டுகில் கிழ்ச்
சாந்தியுடையவன் சிழ் அமைஞ்ஞ பரிசு கொள்கிது [1*] பலநான் அ
டுத்து முட்டுகில் முட்டின அன[வு*] கண்டு ஊரானர் திருமெனி மெ
லாட்டிப்பிது [1*] இவ்வண்ணம் அமைச்ச பஞ்சமாஸஸும் கிலக்கி மு
ட்டிக்குமவனும்

- 3 இதினுக் கமைஞ்ச பூமியும் புறையிடமும் பத்தாயமும் விடுவகிதாக [1*]
பாடுதாங்குகிதாக செய்தவனும் இருகூறு பறையுமவனும் ஊபான்
மைக் கிடையிடுந் கெட்டு பெருமானடிக்கஞ் துற்றுக் கழஞ்ஞ
பொன்னுந் நன்று[ஐ*]ழ நாடு வாழும்[வ*]ரக்கு அயம்பதின் கழ
ஞ்ஞம் வாழ்க்கைவாழும்வனுக்கு இருபத்தைந் கழஞ்ஞ பொன் ற
ண்டப்பகிது [1*] இப்பரிசின் நாடுவாழ்க்கை நாயரும் முந்நுற்றுவரும்
பணியுடையவகனும் உன்னிருந்து இக்கச்சம் எழுதிச்சிது [1*] பணிம
க்கனும் இதினுக்கு வருந்துப்பு வி[ல*]க்கினும் வருகிது [1*] ஒபாகில்
ஊராளசெ திர்த்து கொடுப்பிது [1*] இவகனில் ஆகாதவண்ண மிரு
க்கில் நாடு வாழும்வரையும் முந்நுற்றுவரும் பணி உடையவகனையும்
உருவதிச்ச அவகனாஸ் விட்டச்சக் கொள்கிது [1*] இதினுக் கமை
ஞ்ஞ நிலம் ஒற்றி வைக்கவுந் கொள்ளவும் பெருர் [11*] லீலீ:—

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

When the year opposite to the second year of (the reign of) king Iravi-
Rāman was current, in the month of Karkātaka when Jupiter stood in Mīṇa, the
śrār of Tirukkāḍittānam, the council (*paraḍai*), the (village) *sabhā*, and Iyakkaṇ-
Śirikaṇṭhaṇ of Maṇalmaṇṇam governing Naṇṇulai-nāḍu, met together amicably in
the temple and transacted the (following) business.

Having obtained the unanimous consent of the *śr*, the *paraḍai* and the
sabhā for the following (pieces of land), namely,—the *iḍaiyīḍu* of Sennaṇ-Tāyaṇ
of Tenṣēri who audited the (accounts of the) temple-treasury, the site in which he
was residing, Jñāgalvelikari, Vaṭṭakkari, his portion in the land called Payirraṭṭi,
and his share as *paḍakāram* in Teṇvāyppalikkaṇ[*d**]am—with all these above-
mentioned lands and sites together with the *iḍaiyīḍu* of Sennaṇ-Tāyaṇ of Tenṣēri,
Iyakkaṇ-Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ of Maṇalmaṇṇam governing Naṇṇulai-nāḍu, who was present,
provided (in the following manner) for (sounding) the *pañchamahāśabda*.

Five (men) should sound during the (god's) bath (*nīrāṭṭupallī*) and four
(men) should sound during (the time of) the sacred *bali*.

Those that are absent (*pullippaḍu*) without sounding, shall pay a fine of
two measures of good paddy by the measure holding three *nāḷi*. If there is de-
fault for three occasions (during the day), they shall sound (only) after paying
the paddy that had accumulated under this restriction. If there is default
throughout the day, a fine of (one) measure of oil as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*
shall be (collected and) poured over the god. Half of this oil used for the (god's)
bath and the paddy accruing from default shall be taken by the person performing
(the work of) *kīṭṣānti*. The balance of the oil shall be taken by those in charge
of the temple (*tirukkōyiluḍaiyār*). If the servants (intended) for this service

(*pañchamahāśabda*) are remiss for three consecutive days, they shall be liable to the stipulated penalty under the (person officiating as) *kīlānti*. If there is default for many days successively, the *ārālar* shall (themselves) find the quantity of oil at default and shall have the god bathed with it.

He who causes this *pañchamahāśabda* constituted in this manner to be discontinued, shall relinquish the lands, sites and granary belonging to this (service). He who acts so as to support the side (of the above individual) and he who gainsays (the above terms) shall lose his tenancy rights (*iḍaiyiḍu*) under the *ārānmai* and shall pay a fine of one hundred *kaḷañju* of gold to the king (*perumāṇaḍi*), fifty *kaḷañju* to the chief governing Nāṇṇulai-nāḍu, and twenty-five *kaḷañju* of gold to the officer in immediate control (*vāḷḷkai-vāḷumavar*).

These regulations appertaining to this transaction were drafted in the presence of the Nāyar ruling the (Nāṇṇulai-)nāḍu, the three-hundred, and the (temple) servants. The (temple) servants shall remove the hindrances arising to this (service). If not (so) freed by themselves the *ārālar* shall settle (them). Should there be any objectionable individuals among them (the *ārālar*), the difficulties shall be removed with the help and in the presence of the governor of the country (*nāḍuvāḷumavar*), the three-hundred and the (temple) servants.

The lands dedicated to this (gift) shall not be mortgaged or bought.

Hail! Prosperity!

No. 56—Tirukkadittanam inscription of Bhaskara-Ravivarman.

The subjoined inscription from Tirukkadittanam is found engraved on the west and south walls of the central shrine in the Vishṇu temple of that village. As only a portion of its first line was published on page 33 of Volume II of the *Travancore Archæological Series* with the remark that the record is incomplete, it had to be copied anew, and from the better impression thus secured the record is now edited.

It is in the Tamil language and in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of the time of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman in whose 14th (2nd + 12th) year of reign it is dated. It registers that the *kōyiladhikāri* made a gift of the revenue in kind derivable from the village of Tirukkadittanam for feeding 24 brahmins in the temple, after deducting 12 *kalam*, which was set apart according to an earlier agreement for the payment of the impost to the ruler of the district. It is also stated that Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman, who was the governor of Veṇāḍu, was given administrative control over Nāṇṇulai-nāḍu also. As Tirukkadittanam, Peruneyil and Tiruvavṇḍūr are all mentioned to have been within the jurisdiction of the chief of that division, this district should have comprised the country lying between and possibly extending somewhat beyond these villages. Gōvarddhana also figures in the Cochin plate of Bhāskara-Ravi, 2nd + 36th year (*Ep. Ind.*, iii, 68).

The term *kōyiladhikāri* was evidently the designation of an influential officer, next in importance only to the king himself whom he represented, and who had control over the subordinate rulers of districts and small principalities, such as

TIRUKKADITTANAM RECORD OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN.



Scale: one-eighth.

J. S. Ramaswami Aiyar.

Vēṇāḍu, Nannalaināḍu etc. Such an office of power and responsibility will naturally have been bestowed on a member of the central ruling dynasty, possibly on the heir-apparent himself, whom this probation was calculated to put in proper preliminary administrative training. Thus we find Vijayarāgadeva figuring as a *kōyiladhikāri* in the records of Sthānu-Ravi, whom he must have eventually succeeded, and a Kulasekhara-chakravartin in a Gūṭṭon epigraph of Kollān 378. It is just possible that this office was synonymous with the other designation of '*iṅgū-ru-vāṇṇarūṭiyār*', by which was meant that of the *iṅkō* or heir-apparent to the throne who had under his administration the lesser half of the dominions (*iṅgō-kūru, iṅgōjēru*); and that these *kōyiladhikāriyāl* gradually lost some of their monopoly of influence, dwindling to the subordinate status of Devaśyam Commissioners to control the affairs of several temples. The term seems to be almost a synonym of the word *talijāḍiri* of the *Kēvalōḷṭṭatti* and the *talijālān* of inscriptions. The explanation has elsewhere¹ been offered that the office of *kōyiladhikāri* may have originated from the time when the Sāmānta-kṣatriya chiefs whose services had been requisitioned by the brahminical landed gentry of Kēraḷa for the proper conduct of administrative business and for the preservation of the public peace, were originally placed in charge of the temple demesne by the *Saṁvēlāms* or (religious corporations), which had developed round the living nuclei of temples, and that these officers may have gradually monopolised much of the power from the hands of these assemblies over which they presided. Or it may be that they were put in charge of the palace management also (*kōyil*=palace) to deserve that designation. That some *kōyiladhikāriyāl* in their subordinate status were not necessarily members of the royal house, but were often also their agents and subordinates, seems to be evident from the fact that an inscription of the time of Bhāskara-Ravi from Peruvēl mentions two individuals Ravi-Kaṁbi of Vellūr and Kuṁhara-Nārāyaṇan of Kulamaṅgalam as the *kōyiladhikāriyāl*, and the interpretation making them to be mere engravers of the record on stone does not seem to be correct.

The peculiarities of the language of the document are not many except that the usual dialectical forms, such as, *amaṇchhu*, *vāṇṇu* and *kalāṇṇu* are used in place of *amaṭṭu*, *vāṇḍu*, and *kalāṇḍu*.

Text ³

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11*] கெரப் பாக்கரணிவிவரம் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாதின்ற
யான் முரண்டமுண்டைத் தெருந் பந்திராமாண்டு வெற்றுடைய
கொவர்தனம் மார்த்தாண்டி [12*] அகமச்சு நன் தலமுநாடு வாழ்ந்து
திருக்கடித்தான்தால் நாட்டினுக்கு ஆடுக்கொன்றும் உடம்பா
ட்டால் வாழ்க்கை ஆக [பரட்ட] இடங்கழியால் பந்திரு கலை கெல்
ஆட்டைக்கொளாக அ[ன]மசுகமிக்கது அட்டி கெட்டுந்து அது

1 *Madras Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 116.

2 *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 44.

3 Registered as No. 18 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 A. D. (No. 94 of 1086).

4 Canceled.

5 The reading is tentative.

- 2 கொண்டு இருபத்துநாளு கல மக்கிர மமச்சருனினர் கொயிலதிகாரிகள்
[11*] இப்பந்திருகலமும் நாடுவாமுமவர்க்கு ணரும் பொதுவாஸம் உ
டிக் கொடுக்ககடவியர் [11*] திருவக்கிரத்தினு விரோதம் பண்ணி மு
ட்டிக்கு மிடையிடன் கொயிலதிகாரிகள்க்கு இருபத்தை(ம்)க் கழை
ந்து பொன்னு நாடுவாமுமவர்க்கு பந்திருகலம்தொடு அஞ்ச காண
மு வாழ்க்கை வாழமவர்க்கு அருக-
- 3 ஸைத்தொரு இரண்டரைக் காணமும் ஆட்டைக்கொள்[வா]ர்க்கும் பொ
ன்னும் கூடத் தண்டம்
- 4 படக்கடவியன் [11*] பாடுதாந்நுமவது மித்தண்டம் படக்கடவியன் ஸீ
[11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

While the 12th year opposite the second year (of the reign) of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi was current, the Kōyiladhikārigal after having appointed Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍan who was governing Vēṇāḍu; to administer Nappulajai-nāḍu (also), and after having apportioned twelve *kalam* of paddy as the (*āṭṭaikkol*) yearly payment from (the village of) Tirukkadittānam according to agreement towards the impost (*vāḷkkai*-tax) due to the *nāḍu*, made a gift of the balance; and with this he was pleased to make provision (in the temple) for twenty-four plates of food (i. e., for feeding twenty-four persons).

The *ār* and *poduvāl* shall together give this twelve *kalam* (of paddy) to the governor of the district (*nāḍu-vāḷumavan*).

The *iḍaiyiḍan* who does injury to this feeding and stops it, shall pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold to the Kōyiladhikārigal, twelve *kaḷaṇḷu* and five *kāṇam* to the ruler of the District, six *kaḷaṇḷu* and two and a half *kāṇam* to the officer (*vāḷkkaivāḷumavar*) in immediate charge (of the village), and (one) *pon* to the collector of the annual impost.

He who abets (the above person at default) shall also be liable to the same fine. Śrī!

No. 57—Record of Bhaskara-Ravivarman: 2nd + 24th year.

The present record is also from the same Vīṣṇu temple at Tirukkadittānam and is found engraved in Vaṭṭeluttu on the south base of the central shrine. As the first two lines only of this inscription were published on page 40 of Vol. II of the *Trav. Archl. Series*, it had to be copied afresh, before a complete transcript could be prepared.

The record is dated in the 24th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, when Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman who was the governor of Vēṇāḍu was administering Nappulajai-nāḍu as well. From the inscription published above, it is learnt that the latter district was added to the administrative jurisdiction of Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍa about twelve years previously,

in the 12th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the same suzerain, Bhaskara-Ravivarman. From this, and from the Cochin plate it follows that Venāḍu was ruled by Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman at least between Kollam 167 and 191.

The epigraph states that the *parishad*, the *gana* and the *poduvāl* of the temple at Tirukkādittānam met together and ordered that the holdings of the drummers (*kottigal*) shall not be taken up for cultivation or on mortgage by the *kōyiludaiyār*, the supervisors of the temple, and that those who transgress this condition shall be punished by fines payable to the governor of the district and to the village chief.

The last sentence which states that the record was engraved at the instance of the *wachchars* or drummers shows that they had a grievance, as their holdings apparently been taken up by those in authority to their own disadvantage, and that they appear to have made their position secure by this restriction.

Text.

- 1 ஷ்ஷத்தி ஸ்ரீ [1*] கொபாற்கரணரவிவர்மம் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாதின்ற
யாண்டிரண்டினே தீர் இருபத்துநாலாமாண்டு வெணடுடைய கொவர்
த்தனமா [ர்த்] தாண்டன் நன்னுழராவோழத் [திருக்கடி]த்தானத்து
- 2 பரிடையுக் கணத்தாரும் பொதுவான்மாரு [ம்*] நன்னுழரா [ட்*]டு முந்
தாழ்வுவரும் பணி செய்கின்ற கெடும்புறத்து குன்றக் கொகித்தனும்
[ஊம]மன்றத் திரவிராமனாக் கூடி கச்சமரவிது [11*] திரு
க்கடித்தானத்து
- 3 திருக்கொகிதுடையாரும் கொட்டிகளுடைய கிருத்தி ஒற்றி கொள்ளவும்
அவை யுழவு உழவும் பெருர் [1*] ஊராளரும் இடையிடரும் பொது
ஆளும் ஒற்றிகொள் [னுவன்] யுமவன் நாடுவாழுவவர்க்கு இ-
- 4 ருபத்து நாற்க்கைழனும் வாழ்க்கை உடையவர்க்கு பத்திருக்கைழனு பொ-
ன்னுந் தண்டப்படுகிது [1*] அவன்கு பாடுதாங்குமவனும் இத்தண்ட
மெ படுகிது [1*] பணிமானிடம் ஒற்றி இடையிடு கூடி
யிரு கூடி க்கு வாதிச்-
- 5 சொர்க்கு உழவடுத்து கொள்ளக்கடவர் [1*] அது விவக்குமவர்களும் இ
த்தண்டமெ படுகிது [1*] பணி மானிடத்தைப் புள்ளிமிழ மைஞ
வண்ணமெ கணத்தாருஞ் சாத்தி செய்யுமவரனும் கண்டுகொள்விது
[1*] உவச்சகன்
- 6 எழுதிது [11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the twenty-fourth year opposite to the second year which was current (in the reign) of king Bhaskara-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi when Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍan of Venāḍu was also administering Nannulai-nāḍu, the *parishad*, the *gana*

1 Registered as No. 48 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 A. D. This has been published incompletely — T. A. S., Vol. II p. 40.

and the *poduvāl* of Tirukkāḍittānam, the 'three-hundred' of Nāṇṇūlai-nāḍu and the (temple servants Kuṇṇaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Neḍumpuṇam and Ravi-Rāmaṇ of having met, passed the following resolution:—

The trustees of the temple (*tirukkōyil-uḍaiyār*) at Tirukkāḍittānam shall not take on mortgage or for cultivation lands belonging to the drummers (*koṭṭikāl*). The *ūrālar*, *iḍaiyīḍar* and *poduvāl* shall not (also) take them on mortgage.

Such of the *ūrālar* or *iḍaiyīḍar* as take (these holdings) on mortgage shall be liable to a fine of twenty-four *kāḷaṇṇu* of gold to the governor of the district, and twelve *kāḷaṇṇu* to the officer in immediate charge (of the village). He that supports him (the transgressor) shall be subject to the same fine.

..... shall take the cultivation. He who obstructs this shall be liable to the same penalty. The *gana* (members) and those who perform the *sānti* (worship) shall supervise the servants in the stipulated manner.

This was written by the drummers (*uvachechar*).

No. 58—Another record for Tirukkāḍittānam.

This inscription which is engraved on the south base of the same Vishṇu temple at Tirukkāḍittānam registers the gift of certain fields which Dēvaṇ-Rāmaṇ of Muttūru made for providing certain offerings to the god (*bhaḷārār*) at Tirukkāḍittānam. The Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of the record approximate to the date of Bhāskara-Ravivarmaṇ.

Muttūru, the village from which the donor hailed is in the Tiruvalla taluk and has been referred to in the *Uṇṇuṇṇilisaṇḍēśam* in the following lines:

முத்தூரிலிருந்து வந்த பழைய பிள்ளிக்கு மூலம்
முதலியும் தபம் விரவொரு சுவை நாவகோகினை வையக. v. 125.

Text.¹

- 1 முத்தூற்று தெவனிராமன் திருக்கடித்தானத்து பழையாக்கு நாநாழி அரி திருவமி-
- 2 ிந்து உச்சையாகத்து பந்திராக்கு செல்வான் அமைச்ச பூமி [1*] கண்ணன் கரி தெகியவும் எடை-
- 3 யப்பாரச்சிதமு மொழியர் வாழ்க்கையும் மன்னவெலியு மணலொடியமினி த்றில் [ப] பாதி [11*]

Translation.

The lands which Dēvaṇ-Rāmaṇ of Muttūru set apart for providing sacred offerings of four *nāḷi* of rice at twelve-feet time before midday to the god (*bhaḷārār*) of Tirukkāḍittānam are the following:—the whole of Kannaṇkari, and half of the lands (called) Edaiyaṇ-puraiyidam, Moliyar-vāḷkkai, Maṇṇa-veli, and Maṇalōḍi.

1 Registered as No. 49 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 A. D. (same as No. 92 of 1086.)

No. 59.—Tirukkadittanam Inscription.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Vishnu temple at Tirukkadittānam. It is in the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet and the Tamil language, and registers the gift of the land called Nelvādil-kādu by Kaṇḍan-Kumaraṇ *alias* Maḷuvakkōṇ of Kīḷumalai for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tirukkadittānam. The recipients of the gift were the members of the village assembly and the *poduvāl*, who, it is said, in company with 'the three-hundred' of Naṇṇalai-nādu and 'the six-hundred' of Kīḷumalai, made it over to Iyakkāṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkūlam, stipulating that he shall enjoy the right of cultivation and give in return, on the day of Rōhirī in the month of Kumbha, either 12 *kalam* of paddy in kind (as measured) by the *iḍaṇḡaḷi*, or 6 *kaḷaṇḡu* of pure gold.

Kīḷumalai-nādu was the name of the tract of land in the north-eastern corner of the State lying at the foot of the Western Ghats, and represented by the modern taluks of Devikulam, Toḍupula and a portion of Māvāttupula. The capital of this independent principality was Kārikkōḍu near Toḍupula and it continued to retain its autonomy even as late as Kollam 754.¹ It may have been absorbed into the greater division of Vaḍakkumkūru in about the end of the 16th century A. D., as it has been record by the Portuguese chronicler Gouvea that the Rāṇi of Vaḍakkumkūru adopted the Rāja of Toḍupula, on failure of issue. Kōḍikkūlam is also a village in the Karimannūr pagudi of the Toḍupula taluk.

The inscription is dated on the day of Tiruvōṇam falling on a Monday in the month of Kumbha of the year in which Jupiter was in Rishabha. The same individual Maḷuvakkōṇ made a gift in favour of the Vishnu temple of Tiruvalla on the day of Viśākha corresponding to a Wednesday in the month of Makara, when Jupiter was in Tula, for sounding the five great sounds or the *pañchamahāśabda*. In it also, Iyakkāṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkūlam figures. As such, the date of the subjoined inscription may be seven years after or five years before that of the gift recorded in the Tiruvalla copper-plates. To judge from the characters, the record seems to belong to the end of the 11th century A. D.

The expression 'சூடுமுதையும் வஞ்சிது அறுகழைஞ்ஞு பொன்' in line 6 may be compared with 'அட்டுவெட்டிச் சூடுக்கு தந்து காச்சாற்றி கைசெல்வது கழஞ்சிற் பேர்த்த துணைப்பொன் உதையும் துணையும் வழுவாதது' occurring in an inscription of Rājarāja I (No. 218 of 1911), where the genuineness of the gold currency was tested by the fineness of the gold and the punch-mark (*tulai*), which was presumably stamped on the discs by order of the issuing government. The word 'vaḷuvādadu', which prescribed that the fineness of gold should not be found to be wanting, is

1 Vide, *Bharatavarahi* for 1096, p. 15.

சூடுமுதையும் வஞ்சிது அறுகழைஞ்ஞு பொன்
கைசெல்வது கழஞ்சிற் பேர்த்த துணைப்பொன்
உதையும் துணையும் வழுவாதது
அறுகழைஞ்ஞு பொன்
கைசெல்வது கழஞ்சிற் பேர்த்த துணைப்பொன்
உதையும் துணையும் வழுவாதது
அறுகழைஞ்ஞு பொன்
கைசெல்வது கழஞ்சிற் பேர்த்த துணைப்பொன்
உதையும் துணையும் வழுவாதது

here expressed by the positive word *varuvidu*, 'which' possessed the necessary fineness and carat'.

Text.¹

- 1 ஹ்லி ஸ்ரீ [||*] இடபத்துன் கியாமுந் திந்க கும்ப ஞாயிற்று திங்கனாண்ட
திருவொணத்தின் னுள் திருக்கடித்தானத்துப் பட்டாச[ர்*]க்கு கிழ
மலையுடைய² கண்டம் குமரனாய மாளுவக்கொன் நந்தாவிளக் கமைச்-
சான் [||*] இந் நந்தாவிளக்கி.
- 2 னு தன்னுடைய, நெல்வாதில்காடாமின்ற செரிக்கல் [க]ரையும் வயலுங்
காட்³ னுள்ளொடுக்க இதனுபடும தெல்லால் கூட அட்டிக்கொடுத்-
தான் கிழமலையுடைய கண்டம் குமரனாய மாளுவக்கொன் [||*] நெல்-
வாதிலாமின்ற செரிக்கல் திருக்கடித்தானத்-
- 3 னாரும் பொதுவான்மாரும் கிழமலை அது⁴ தாற்றுவவையு நன்றுழைநாட்டு
முந்தாற்றுவவையும் பணியுடைய[ர்]சீராய முள்வைச்சு கொடிக்கனமு-
டைய இயக்கக் கொவிந்நனுக்கு காரான்மை அட்டிக் கொடுத்தார் னை-
ரும் பொதுவான்மாரும் [||*] இத்திருவிளக்கு இச்செரிக்கல் னா[ரு]ம்
- 4 [கிழமலை] அதுதாற்றுவரு நன்றுழைநாட்டு முந்தாற்றுவரு பணியுடை-
ய[ர்]கனா[ம்*] பொதுவான்மாரு[ம்*] இன்னுக்கு வரும் குறைவு குற்ற
முண்டாகில் விட்டிச்செல்லுத்திக்கக் கடவியர் [||*] இவ்விளக்கு கிழ-
ருவி னடையோடு [கூ]-
- 5 டச் செலுத்தக் கடவியர் [||*] விளக்கு முட்டிக்குமவர் கச்சத்தில்ப்பட்ட
தண்டமெய் படக்கவியர் [||*] கொடிக்கனத்து இயக்கக் கொவிந்ந-
[ன்*] ஓராண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டாட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியன் [||*] வி-
ளக்குனு கும்ப ஞா-
- 6 கிற்று உரொயணி நாள் பொதுவான்மார் கைகில் நெல்க் கொடுக்கி விடம்.
கழியால்ப் பச்சிரு கலங் கொடுப்பிது [||*] பொன் கொடுக்கில் ருடு-
முறையும் வருகிது⁵ அது கழைஞ்ஞ நிறைப் பொன் கொடுப்பிது[||]
இயக்கக் கொவிந்நன்
- 7 உடையாடியான் கண்டனிர[ளி]⁶

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !

On the day of Tiruvōṇam, which fell on a Monday in the month of Kum-
bha of the year in which Jupiter stood in Rishabha, Kaṇḍaṇ-Kumaraṇ alias Ma-
ḷuvakkōṇ of Kīlunalai, supplied a perpetual lamp to (the temple of) the god at
Tirukkāḍittāṇam. For this perpetual lamp, Kaṇḍaṇ-Kumaraṇ alias Maḷuvakkōṇ

1 Registered as No. 88 of 1086 and No. 17 of the Trav. Epig. Colln.

2 *y* is entered below the line.

3 Perhaps காடு முள்ளொடுக்க.

4 The syllables தாற்ற are entered below the line, a mark being made after அது.

5 The word occurs elsewhere as வருவாது; although வருகிது may also be taken as meaning, 'that possesses the necessary fineness', and occurs as such in I. 384 of the Tiruvalla plates (T. A. S., Vol. II, p. 191).

6 The records stops here.

of Kīlumalai gave with libation (of water) his land known as Nelvādil-kāḍu, inclusive of gardens, wet, and forest lands along with all the appurtenances.

The *ārār* and *poduvālmār*¹ of Tirukkadittānam, in the presence of 'the six-hundred' of Kīlumalai, the 'three-hundred' of Nappulai-nāḍu and the servants, gave the land called Nelvādil as a *kārānmai* to Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkaḷam.

The *ārār* of this Śerikkal, 'the six-hundred' of Kīlumalai, 'the three-hundred' of Nappulai-nāḍu, the servants and the *poduvālmār* shall, in case of any deficiency or default arising, make that good and see to the maintenance of the lamp. They shall have this lamp maintained along with the expenses of the temple.

Those who cause any impediment to (the burning of) this lamp, shall be liable to the fine fixed in this agreement. If Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkaḷam causes default in any one year, he shall have to pay double the quantity at default.

In making payment on the day of Rōhiṇi in the month Kumbha into the hands of the *poduvāl*, if it is in paddy, twelve *kalam* as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi* shall be given, and if gold is paid, six *kaḷañju* in weight of gold having the proper carat and fineness shall be given. Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ, Uḍaiyāraḍiyan Kaṇḍaṇ-Ravi . . .

No. 60—Two sculptured panels at Tirukkadittānam.²

Nāṭya-sāstra, or the art of dancing and acting was developed in great elaboration by Bharatamuni in his *Bharatasāstra* of about the 3rd or the 4th century A. D; but as it was itself probably based on the earlier Nāṭasūtras of Sīlālin and Kṛiṣṇaśa,³ which have been referred to by and must therefore have lived before the great grammarian Pāṇini, the age of the Dancing Art of Aryan India, as a science, mounts up to very high antiquity. The Tāmilian branch of this art, although it followed its Aryan sister in certain particulars and copied several of the technical terms relating to that science in later times, must have had, however, an antiquity equally great and also maintained a distinct individuality in this, as in many other branches of culture; for, we find here several varieties of dances peculiar to her own independent civilisation, which are absent in the Sanskrit treatises. In the *Arangērrukāḍai* and the *Kaḍalāḍukāḍai*, the third and sixth chapters of the *Puḡār-kāṇḍam*, the first book of *Śilappadigāram*⁴, reference is made to several of the varieties of dances in vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the learned commentator Aḍiyārkkunallār (c. 1200 A. D.) has taken this opportunity to insert, with copious quotations from some rare Tāmili works, such as *Agattiyaṁ*, *Śeyirriyaṁ*, *Jayantam*, *Gūṇanāl*, *Nāṭaka-tāmiḷ-nāl* of Mativāṇa etc., a fairly detailed account on the characteristics, significance, utility etc. of the the various kinds of Dances, whether purely pantomimic or accompanied by

1 The phrase 'மருங்கு பொதுவார்தொகு' is repeated in the text.

2 This paper appeared in the *Mythic Society's Journal* for April 1924.

3 Q. J. M. S., Vol. XII, page 157.

4 *Śilappadigāram*, page 80.

music, both vocal and instrumental, the principal representatives of the latter being the *yāl* and the *kūḷal*.

Kūttus or Dances were primarily divided into several pairs of sub-divisions consistent with their character; and one such classification was the *Śāntikkūttu* and the *Vinōḍakkūttu*. The former is the collective name of four kinds¹ of Dances which were indulged in by the hero or the dancer in a mood of reposeful enjoyment and as a means of æsthetic recreation; while the *Vinōḍakkūttu*² which had to appeal to the masses was mostly of a spectacular than an intellectual kind and was subdivided into the six varieties: *Kuravai*, *Kiḷinaṇam*, *Kuḷakkūttu*, *Karaṇam*, *Nōkku* and *Tōrpāvai* with the optional inclusion of the *Vidāḍakkūttu* or sometimes of the *Veriyāḍu* as the seventh. Of these, *Kuḷakkūttu* was also one of the eleven varieties (according to another grouping) danced by the *dēvas* in their fight with their horn enemies the *aśuras*, which are numerated in the following stanza:—

‘கூடையமசி ராணிமரக் கால்விந்தை கந்தன்
கூடையுமா வல்லியமல் கும்பஞ் கடர்விழியாற்
பட்டமதன் பேடுதிருப் பாவையான் பாண்டரங்கம்
கொட்டிமனை காண்பதினோர் கூத்து’.

These again were classified into two groups of six and five each according to the posture of dancing, either standing or otherwise:—

‘அல்லியங் கொட்டி கூடாகூடம் பாண்டரங்க
மல்லுட னின்றூட லாது’
and ‘தடிக்கடையம்பேடு மரக்கரலே பாவை
வடிவுடன் விழ்த்தாட னாத்து’.

Of these, we shall take up for consideration only the two varieties *Kuḷai* and *Kuḍam*, which are described in the following lines of the *Kuḍalāḍukāḍai* as having been played on two special occasions:

‘படைகிழ்த் தவுணர் பையு னெய்தக்
கூட கிழ்த் தவமு அடிய கூடாயம்,
வாணன் பேரூர் மறுகடை நடந்து
ரணில மனந்தோ அடிய கூடமும்’ (ll. 52-45).

In his commentary on these lines, Adiyārkkunallār says that god Subrahmanya³ after having slain the demon Śurapadmāsura, who had concealed himself in the ocean, danced his war-dance of triumph on the heaving wave-platform of the oceanic stage to the accompaniment of the rattle of his drum (*tudi*), and that at a later stage, when all the other remaining Rākshasas threw down their weapons in despair

1 namely, *Sakam*, *Meyykkūttu*, *Avinayam* and *Nāṭakāṇi*.

2 எழுவகைக் கூத்து விழிஞ்சத் தோரை, பாட அஞ்சனனாத்தியன் குறே

—page 81.

3 *Silappadigāram*, page 89.

4 ‘மாத்தகட அடுவ-

னித்தினா யவகத்து திகர்த்த முன்னிந்து

குத்திரத் கடத்தோ அடிய தடியும்—

ll. 49 to 51 of *Kuḍalāḍukāḍai*.

Compare also சேடதுக்கசண்டாரஞ்சர்குள

மானவிட்டுஞ் செழுவேக்கல்வர்

சேதவற்றனின் குடிவிறகரீ ரதுதோன் மேற்

—*Tiruppugal*.

and fled the field before the war-lord's impetuous onslaught. Subrahmanya screened his face with a parasol and played in exultant derision the *Kuḍaikkattu* or the Umbrella-dance. These are the two¹ varieties of dances mentioned as peculiar to this god, and it is noticeable that both of them are of TAMILIAN origin and do not find corresponding equivalents in the sub-divisions described in the Sanskrit *Nāṭya-śāstras*. Muruga (the Tamil synonym of Kumāra) is more popular in TAMILIAN South India than in the Aryan north, where his worship is not so much favoured;² and we find him given an equal status with Viṣṇu and Śiva in early Tamil literature. He was the tutelary³ deity of the *kuṛiñjila-makkal* or hill-men in whose routine of worship *tudī* (drum)⁴ was the chief musical accompaniment and *Veriyāṭṭu*, a kind of wild spirit-possessed dance, formed an important feature. *Tirumurugārūppaḍai* the first poem in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* is in praise of this god Muruga and is considered so sacred as to be utilised by the devout 'Murugites' for their daily recitation (*pārāyaṇam*), while as many as eight pieces out of the twenty-four in the available *Paripāḍal* are exclusively dedicated to the glorification of Śeṇvāl (Subrahmanya). These *Kuḍaikkattus* are now sometimes performed during temple processions when the god's umbrella-bearer cuts some capers with his unwieldy parasol; but the *Kāvaḍikkattu* is a greater favourite in these days in Muruga's worship and festivities.

The second variety called the *Kuḍaikkattu* is another dance peculiar to the Tamil genius, and we do not find its counter-part in the premier Sanskrit treatises on the art of Dancing. Its origin has to be traced to the purely pastoral pursuits of its votaries, the shepherds, who eventually came to consider it as one of the three favourite dances of god Viṣṇu in his special manifestation as Gōpāla, the Divine Shepherd⁵. In the Śaṅgam works, but more frequently in the impassioned utterances⁶ of the Vaiṣṇava-śālvārs, reference is made to the partiality of Kṛiṣṇa to this kind of dance. One such instance is in a verse⁷ of Periyālvār's *Tirumōḻi*, where its learned commentator has attempted to trace the origin of this kind of pastoral dance as follows:—

- 1 குடைமோடு தடியிரண்டும் குமரநாடலாமே
அதமுதந்தோ குடை and தடியாடல் வேற்றுருககுடை — *Chadāmanji*.
- 2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, page 415.
- 3 மையோர் மையகாடுரை யுகமும் — *Tolkappiyam* (Aha. s. 5)
- 4 தொண்டகருகுதியம் போர்த்துடி குதகுடிப்பறைபேர் — *Chadāmanji*.
- 5 மையோர் மையகாடுரை யுகமும் — *Tolkappiyam*.
- 6 குன்றெடுத்த ஆகை காத்த பிரான், கோவலராய்ச் சூழறுநிழி,
எந்தகல் மேய்த்துத் தன் தோழரோடு, கலந்துடன் வருவான்
இடவகுடவலகோவை காவல
குடத்தாடல் குன்றெடுத்தோருடன் — *Periyālvār Tirumōḻi*.
— *Paripāḍal* 2-ம் பத்தி, l. 43.
— *Silap.*, பாடி 89.
- 7 குடை கலத்தாடித் தாவலமுன்கோத்த கூத்த
குடமாடு கூத்தன் கோகித்தன்
குடமாடித் கோவலராய் மேலி என்னெஞ்சம்
இடமாகக் கொண்டஇறை
குடமாடி இம்மன்னும் விண்ணும் குதக உலகனந்த
சுடமாடிய பெருமான்
குடமாடல் வாய்த்த பாதத் துலத்தான்
குதகனெடுத் தேறவிட்டுக் கூத்தாடவல்ல எங்கோவே — *சு-ம் நிருமொழி*.
— *சாட்சியார் நிருமொழி*.
— *இயற்பா*, 2-ம் நிருவி, பா. 98.
— *இயற்பா*, நிருவி, பா. 38.
— *நிருமொவக்கடமாலை*, 48.
— *உ-ம்பத்து*, எ-ம் நிருமொழி.

"As brahmans perform sacrifices in days of plenty, so too do shepherds in prosperous times give vent to their exuberance of joy in improvising the *Kuḍakkūttu* or the Pot-Dance"—a recreation that would naturally have suggested itself to a class of men whose wealth was wooed, so to say, out of the cornucopia of their milk and butter-pots. "The dancer balances a tier of pots on his head and a few more on his shoulders and throwing up some in the air, catches them as they fall in succession" (thus keeping up a continuous line of pots going round in the same manner as the game of *ammānai* is being played by little girls). "The pots are either common earthen ones or are made of an amalgam of five metals (*pañchalāham*)". Lord Kṛishṇa as the prince of all shepherds (*āyarkōn*), was therefore the hero-elect of these pastoral performances, more particularly of the '*Kuravaikūttu*, (Skt. *Rāsakrīdā*), the idyllic dance played in the moonlit lawns of Brindavana to the entrancing accompaniment of his own divine flute, the musical instrument typical of *mullai-nilam*. The *Kuḍakkūttu* is popular even today in the form *Karakamāṭṭam* connected with the worship of Kālī, in the *Uṇiyaḍi* festival commemorating the sports of the infant Kṛishṇa and in the street-acrobats' performances.

But the authors of the *Silappadigāram* and its commentary mention also a different occasion on which this Pot-Dance was played, viz, that of the defeat of Bāṇāsura in his own capital of Śōṇitapura (Śōṇagaram). Aniruddha, the son and grandson respectively of Pradyumna and Kṛishṇa, made love on the sly to Ushā the beautiful daughter of Bāṇa, and was forthwith imprisoned by the irate father in his invincible fire-girt castle. But Kṛishṇa¹, despite the spirited opposition of Śiva, Subrahmaṇya, Gaṇeśa and all the goblin hordes, entered the city, defeated Bāṇa and would have slain him outright, but for the timely pleading of Śiva and the asura-king's agreement to publicly celebrate the marriage of his daughter with her secretive lover. This was the occasion when Kṛishṇa signalled his triumph by a frolicsome spell of his favourite Pot-Dance. Two other varieties² attributed to him are the *alliyam* and the *mallu* which he indulged in on the occasions respectively of killing the elephant-emissary of Kamsa and Kamsa himself. Kṛishṇa had in his eventful life in the Āyarchēri several other opportunities for dancing; he danced his petulant and jubilant dances when butter and curds³ were denied or given him and danced again on the five-headed serpent Kālīya, who was fouling the Yamunā's waters.⁴

It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Bālarāmabhāratam* a work on the Dancing Art composed by the royal author Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśekhara (1758-98) the Mahārāja of Travancore mentions Shaṇmukha (Subrahmaṇya) and Kṛishṇa among the *bharata-pradhāna-puruṣas*, or important divinities intimately connected with the Dance.

1 தொகுத்தகை கோத்தாடற்பெர்-கொல்லிய குளையென்ப — *Chudāmaṇi*.

This dance has been described in the Āychehiyār-Kuravai in *Silappadigāram*.

2 Compare the following description

மோடியோடவங்கிசெய்யு மக்கியோடகவங்கிசென்

முதியோட முருகுசூட முக்கனீசன் மக்கனீசு

தேடியோடவானுதியம் புயக்கன் குறுநீர்

கிழியோட கோய்தோட்ட நிருவாகராசரோ

— நிருவாகக்கலம்பகம், 39.

3 குடமல் வேயல்லியந்தான் கொண்டல்வண்ணந்தன் உத்த

— *Chudāmaṇi*.

TWO SCULPTURED PANELS AT TIRUKKADITTANAD.



The reason why the two varieties called the *Kuḍaikkāttu* and the *Kuḍakkāttu* have been detailed above is because the sculptured figures on the two *vāḷi*-panels flanking the entrance into the *sanctum* of the Adbhuta-Nārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkadittāṇam (Chēnganachery taluk) may be taken to represent these two types of dances. The sculptures seem to belong to the beginning of the 11th century, and may therefore be contemporaneous with the few records of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman (c. A. D. 1000) found engraved on the base of the circular *adhishthāna* of the *garbhagriha* of the temple. The *Kuḍaikkāttu* panel is a good piece of workmanship and represents the dancer as exhibiting his skill on the dais of a covered *maṇḍapa*, (the *Rāṅganmaṇḍapa* or the *Kūttambalam* of temples?), while an attendant standing to his left holds an umbrella aloft, its duplicate being held perhaps by the dancer himself, although this detail is not quite clear in the sculpture. Two other attendants provide the musical accompaniment consisting of the inevitable *mṛdaṅgam* and a pair of cymbals. A flock of five *hamsas*, looking more like ducklings than royal swans, is seen swimming itself on the roof of the *maṇḍapa* and adds to the picturesqueness of the composition.

The other panel⁶ representation of *Kuḍakkāttu* is also from the chisel of the same sculptor, as is evident from the general style of his work and the recurrence of the same details as in the other piece. The posture of the dancer is, if anything, more vivacious and the attendants are figured with a more expressive touch of realism: witness the agile bend of the drummer's body and the watchful pose of his head. The dancer's head is dressed up in the *kaṇḍa-makūṭa* or the *dhammilla* style popular in representations of Krishna and the absence of the tier of pots has to be accounted for by limitations of space. Two pots each are enjoying doubtful equilibrium on the extended left and bent right arms of the dancer, while three or four pots are seen dangling in space thrown up in the quick volutions of his rhythmic movements to be caught up as they fall and thrown up again in succession.

Such are the two dances delineated in the accompanying illustration and their importance, if any, lies in the fact that they represent varieties of the ancient Tamil dances, some of which at least were the independent product of the distinctive culture of the early Tamils and are still enjoying a fugitive existence, though in somewhat altered forms, in Kōṇḍa, the unroofed 'Old Curiosity Shop' of early customs and institutions.

No. 61—Record of Bhāskara-Ravivarman, 2 + . . year.

The subjoined record of Bhāskara-Ravivarman is found engraved on the upper face of the narrow *apāna* (lowermost stone-member) of the base of the central shrine of the Adbhuta-Nārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkadittāṇam, which contains many

4 Compare the title of செங்கோட்டைக்கரசர்.

5 கையாவித் தூதர் கம்பத காட்டஞர் செங்கோட்டைக்கரசர்
காணகம்மேறி காண்துணைக்கே தாண்டவமும் கத்தும்

—Tiruvēṅkaṇḍamalai.

6 It is perhaps a happy coincidence that the temple contains a sculptural representation of the *Kuḍakkāttu*, while Nannālvār has described the god of this place as:

கைகுத்தம், கோலிந்தோன் திருக்கத்த அம்மோ

verse 5.

other records of the same Chēra sovereign. The stones comprising the basement having become slightly disturbed on account of age, the top portion of the first line of this epigraph is hidden away by the next superposed thin *champa* stone-member supporting the *kumuda*-moulding, so that the writing could be deciphered only by tracing the visible lower portions of the letters. Although I had suspected and realised the importance of this record more than a year ago, I could not make it public, as I could then produce only an eye-copy in support of my reading and could not substantiate it by an indisputable facsimile. I have now managed after some trouble to get a fairly satisfactory estampage prepared; and this piece of epigraphical evidence is entitled to much greater consideration than all the debatable arguments based merely on astronomical, palaeographical and linguistic data, that had hitherto been advanced in attempts at determining this Chēra king's date.

This record is dated in the . . . year (here one stone is much defaced) opposite to the 2nd year of the reign of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, and mentions, that while Gōvarddhana (this portion is mutilated)-Mārttāṇḍavarman was governing Nāṇṇulāi-nāḍu, Śrīvallabhañ-Kōḍavarman, the ruler of Vēṇāḍu (*Vēṇāḍuḍaiya*), made some provision for the conduct of the Uttiraviḷā-festival beginning from the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kumbha. This record is incomplete; but with the details of the festival we are not much concerned. The important synchronism that the record furnishes is that Vēṇāḍuḍaiya Śrīvallabhañ-Kōḍai was a feudatory of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman along with Gōvarddhana.

Fortunately for us, we know this Vēṇāḍu ruler from his Māmbaḷḷi copper-plate¹ and his two Tiruvāṇṇāḍu² stone inscriptions. Of these three, the copper-plate is dated in Kollam 149 and the other astronomical details give the English equivalent—A. D. 973, November 10. As we do not know how long this Vēṇāḍu ruler reigned, and in what part of his reign Kollam 149 fell, we can only say that Bhāskara-Ravivarman, his suzerain of the Tirukkaḍittāṇam records, should have been reigning in the last quarter of the 10th century A. D.; and as Diwan Bahadur Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai M. A., L. L. B., I. S. O., has independently arrived at A. D. 978³ for the king's accession from calculating the details furnished in the unpublished Tirunelli plate, this may be accepted as the correct date of this Chēra king. From another record which has been edited *ante*⁴, we learn that in the 2nd + 12th year of this Chēra sovereign, Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman who was ruling over Nāṇṇulāi-nāḍu, was put in charge of Vēṇāḍu also. This would therefore indicate that Śrīvallabhañ-Kōḍai may have governed Vēṇāḍu from about Kollam 149 (A. D. 973) or somewhat earlier, till about the 14th year of Bhāskara-Ravi—i. e., A. D. 992, and that after his death, Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman may have succeeded him in the Vēṇāḍu administration. As this latter ruler has figured in the Cochin plate⁵ of Bhāskara-Ravivarman dated in his 2nd + 36th year,

1 T. A. S., Vol. IV, pp. 1-11.

2 T. A. S., Vol. II, pp. 22-5.

3 T. A. S., Vol. II, pp. 31-2.

4 See page 178 *ante*.

5 Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 66-9.

No. 61.—THIRUKADITTANAM RECORD OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN: 2ND + 3. VEAIL.



A. S. Ramaswami Ayyar.

Scale: One-centimetre.

the period of Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍa's reign as a Vēṇāḍu viceroy may approximately be fixed to be from A. D. 992 to at least 1016.

The importance of this epigraph for purposes of fixing Chēra chronology cannot be over-estimated, and the interesting triple synchronism that it establishes, namely, of the contemporaneity of Bhāskara-Ravi, Śrīvallabhaṇ-Kōḍai and Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman is of very great value. It silences once for all the attempts that have recently been made to antedate Bhāskara-Ravi back to the 6th century A. D.¹ As regards the possibility of there being two kings of the same name of Bhāskara-Ravi, which is indicated by the variations in the positions of Jupiter in the several records, that question requires special examination.

Text

- 1 ஸ்ரீமதி [1*] கொச்சிசி பரக்கராச்சிவிவரம்மர்க்குத் தென்னாநின்ற யா-
ண்டி சண்டி மார்த்தாண்டி கன் அழகாடு
வாழ, திருக்கடித்தானத்து உத்திரகணத்தாரும் சிழத்தம் பணியும்
கடி வெற்றலையா சிசிவல்லவங்கொணதவாய்பார் ஆற்றம்ச் சத்திரவி-
நா ஆட்டாண்டுக் கும்பபனாயிற்று காத்தினார் கொடிநாட்டி சிவ-
தி முகர்சாழி கர்ழியால் தாதுகாழி அகிகொண்டு அட்டி ஆணை கறி-
வுக் கொடி மெண்டையப் பராமணை அட்டி பத்து சூத்துமாடிச்ச
பணிமாணித்ததின்கு பண்டு கொங்கும் ஆயிலும் இவர்க்கு நாலை-
சாடி [ழிவில்] வெற்றியை கொண்டு சிவசிக்கு மட்டுஞ்ஞா அலிக் தாகி
உத்திரத்தினு²

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

When the . . . opposite the second year of king Śrī Bhāskara Ravivarmar was current and when [Gōvarddhana]-Mārttāṇḍavarman was administering Nap-
ṭṭai-nāḍu, the *uttaraganattār* (the council of men supervising the *uttira*-festival)
of Tirukkadittūman, the Government officers (*niḷal*) and servants (*paṇi*) having
assembled, (arranged as follows):

For the Uttiravilā (Paṇḍupī-Uttirūn festival) which Śrīvallabhaṇ-Kōḍai-
varman the ruler of Vēṇāḍu (*Vēṇāḍuḍaiya*) had instituted (in the temple), the flag
shall be hoisted every year on (the day of) Kārttigai in the month of Kumbha,
brahmins shall be fed daily with food cooked of 100 measures of rice by the mea-
sure holding three *nāḷi*, together with vegetables and ghee, ten *uttu* (dramatic) per-
formances shall be played and the servants shall be given the usual doles of rice;
and out of this four thousand *nāḷi* of rice, betel shall be supplied daily, and the
śali offerings shall also be strewn; and on the day of Uttirūn

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 220-3.

2 Registered as No. 10 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1160, s. 3.

3 The missing syllable may be கொச்சிசி நான்ருகொடித்தானம்.

4 The writing space here and may have been continued on the lower base, which is now covered up by the flooring of the pedestal.

No. 62—Record of Bhaskararavivarman: 1 + 1 year.

The subjoined record belongs to the year opposite the first year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, when Jupiter was in Tula, and records the gift of a piece of land which Iyakkāṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Muḷakkāḍu made to god Bhaḷāra at Tirukkaḍittāṇam for the expenses of feeding twelve brahmins in the temple and for 12 *nāḷi* of offerings on new-moon days. The donation was made on the auspicious day of (Chitrai)-vishu.

It is note worthy that the year of opposition is mentioned as the first and not the second year, as is usual in Bhāskara-Ravivarman's records. This inscription was published incompletely on p. 45 of the *Travancore Archæological Series*, Volume II; and although the present transcript is not complete, the words that have been omitted previously have now been added, so far as the damaged state of the epigraph would admit.

The amount of paddy and the extent of land are not reconcilable.

Text.¹

- 1 வடிவிலி [1*] கொப்பாற்சா இரவிவர்மன் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாதின்-
ற 2 மாண்டைக்கெதிராமாண்டு நசுப்பத்தெட்டும் சென்ற துலாத்தில்
வியாழன் தின்ற [சித்தி]ரை விழுந் நான் திருக்கடித்தானத்து பழா-
ரர்க்கு முனக்காட்டு இயக்கந் கொவிநந் அமைச்ச செல்வரவிது [1*]
ஒரு [ந]ந்தாவிளக்கும் பந்திருவர் அமரவா திரான்பந்தி-
ருநாழி திரு அமிர்தம் இச்செலவின்
கில் . [விழா] காப்பவரளிடை நாலையிரத்தெண்ணுது பறை நெல்லி-
னு [தா]ன் [அ]ட்டி[ன] நா[அற்று]க்கலம் திலமும் தறையும் பா-
ழா ரர்க்கு அட்டி கொடுத்தான் இயக்கந் கொவிநந் இச்செலவு . . .
. ததர்த்த செலுத்த³

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !

The expenses which Iyakkāṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Muḷakkāḍu provided for the god Bhaḷāra of Tirukkaḍittāṇam on the day of Chitrai-vishu, when forty-eight days had passed in the year opposite the . . year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman's reign when Jupiter stood in Tula, are the following:—

For one perpetual lamp and feeding twelve men and for twelve *nāḷi* of rice on new-moon days, Iyakkāṇ-Gōvindaṇ gave with libation (of water) to for four thousand and eight hundred *payai* of paddy, land of four hundred *kalam* and some sites on behalf of the god.

This expense hundred shall provide.

1 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1100 M. S.

2 It is possible that the syllables இரண்டா may have been omitted here.

3 The record stops here abruptly.



